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Falsifications and Authority in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

edited by
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JAN PAPY & ERIKA GIELEN

THE PROTEAN APPEARANCE
OF FALSIFICATIONS
EMULATING AND CHALLENGING
AUTHORITY IN ANTIQUITY,
THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

In more than one sense this volume on *Falsifications and Authority* is both a book standing apart and a collection of studies deliberately meant to be a well-thought sequel to the previous volumes in the *Lectio* series dealing with ‘authority’. For, in several of these volumes the genesis, functioning and impact as well as the relationship to the pre-modern notion of authority has received central attention. This resulted in a detailed and interdisciplinary study of authority, and a deeper understanding of this shifting idea. In all those volumes it was demonstrated how the *auctoritas* of a text, its transmission and reception in a variety of genres, settings and contexts is made or destroyed. It is the goal of this volume on falsifications to enlarge and deepen our understanding of authority in tangling literary forgery and emulation.

Authority and authoritative literary productions – be it a newly discovered and supposed diary of Adolf Hitler,¹ a so-called papyrus fragment proving Christ’s marital status,² or Anne Boleyn’s last letter written in the Tower of London to Henry VIII³ – provoke all kinds of interest. A variety of hermeneutical techniques ranging from detailed exegesis and historical critique, are invoked to put authority, and yes also possible falsifications, to the test. Because, so it appears, our human mind is a curious one – and one full of ego and play. Rather exceptionally hermeneutics and

¹ Hamilton 1991; Rentschler 2003, pp. 177–92.

² King 2014, pp. 131–59; Rendell 1994.

³ Vasoli 2014; Vasoli 2015.

philology are of interest to the world, at least when one measures their impact on journalists selling news. Moreover, in sharp contrast to a new attribution of a famous painting such as Leonardo's *Salvator Mundi*, identified by art historians in an American collection but recently,⁴ textual scholarship only meets some attention when epistemological, religious or political implications are at stake. Only then, out of a sudden, Alexandrine philological acumen is called for again. Likewise, scientists applying radiocarbon dating methods and molecular genetics are hired nowadays so as to confirm or refute the old-fashioned and less spectacular philological or historical arguments. Most obviously, questions of authenticity and authority are only of real broader interest when scholarly claims leave the bookish laboratories of philologists and historians. Or, when simple curiosity fascinates – or should one say – ‘over-fascinates’ imagination. Here, for obvious reasons, the curious human mind is often enchanted by the powerful, yes political, religious or simply financial impact of authority. Indeed, every generation has been witness of how ‘serious’ philologists and historians themselves fabricate evidence or counterfeit genuine coins, contracts, inscriptions and texts, challenging the intelligence and skills of colleagues and undermining the status of scholarship itself because of arrogant self-interest, vain self-love, sheer greed or a personal political and religious agenda.

Still, our human mind is a playful one as well. *La charlatannerie des savants* being but one of its results, it lead scholars such as the Paris Jesuit Joannes Harduinus (Jean Hardouin, 1646–1729), once even called ‘pathological’, to conclude that – with one or two exceptions – *all* ancient texts were forged by medieval monks between the 13th and 14th centuries.⁵ Whereas some erudite readers did take Harduinus fairly seriously at the time and others did ridicule him mercilessly, he was recently given the status of a scholarly visionary in one of the most successful literary-historical novels of our time, *Mysterium* (2011) by Rita Monaldi and Francesco Sorti. Anyhow, even though Harduinus is written off by modern scholars as a case of incurable paranoia, it is Harduinus’ kind of using and abusing arguments and it is the variety of reac-

⁴ Kemp 2011; Kemp 2011b, pp. 174–75.

⁵ Love 2002, pp. 186–88.

tions to these which remain of central importance to cultural and intellectual history.

Strikingly, in the course of history it was human psychology which now and then transformed dusty philologists into intellectually over-ambitious, greedy or malicious crooks and forgers. One day they faked Latin inscriptions recording Julius Caesar's deeds or his will,⁶ another they forged official documents claiming a papal state,⁷ or they reinvented national history in a romantically reimagined and so-called 'Gothic literature'.⁸ Hence, the notion of authority and authoritative texts is not only a historical or philological one. Moreover, when not at hand in a tangible, yes even datable source, authority is echoed in an 'authoritative voice' imitating texts and authors from an illustrious past. Does this mean that all forgery was malicious? Motive, means and opportunity do vary; intellectual *ethos* shifts as does authority and renown

⁶ The French calligrapher Pierre Hamon (Blois c. 1530 – Paris 1569) made a collection of 'ancient handwritings' which he published as *Alphabet de plusieurs sortes de lettres, par Pierre Hamon Blaesien, escrivain du Roy et secrétaire de sa chambre*, Paris: Robert Estienne, 1567. On this work, see Omont, 1901, pp. 57–73. Hamon also designed a Ravenna papyrus which supposedly contained the last will of Julius Caesar. For a critical assessment of this so-called will of Caesar, see already the two pages written on Hamon's forgery by Dom Jean Liron in his *Singularités historiques et littéraires contenant plusieurs recherches, découvertes et éclaircissement sur un grand nombre de difficultés de l'Histoire ancienne et moderne. Ouvrage historique et critique*. Tome premier, Paris: Didot, 1738, pp. 155–56.

⁷ The Donation of Constantine or *Donatio Constantini*, a forged Roman imperial decree by which the 4th-century emperor Constantine the Great supposedly transferred authority over Rome and the western part of the Roman Empire to the Pope, was composed in the 8th century and had been used, especially in the 13th century, in support of claims of political authority by the papacy. Although the document had been contested since 1001, it was only Lorenzo Valla, who first exposed the forgery with solid philological arguments in 1439–1440. See now Camporeale 1996, pp. 9–26 and Delph 1996, pp. 55–77.

⁸ A cycle of epic poems narrated and (purportedly) authored by Ossian, was published by the Scottish poet James Macpherson, who claimed to have collected word-of-mouth material in Scottish Gaelic, said to be from ancient sources. Both on literary and political grounds, immediate disputes of Macpherson's claims arouse. The English author, critic and biographer Samuel Johnson, for instance, was convinced that Macpherson was a liar and a fraud, and that the poems were forgeries. Contemporary critics were divided in their view of the work's authenticity, but the consensus since is that Macpherson framed the poems himself, based on old folk tales he had collected. See Magnusson 2006, p. 340 and Townshend 2014, pp. 218–43 (online publication: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1mkbd92>. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

itself. What remains, however, is the fascination with authority, and, as Anthony Grafton has described, the authority's reaction in trying to unmask and to keep ahead of the forger's skilled, wicked and ingenious technique.⁹

This reciprocity between forgery and authority, brilliantly expounded by Anthony Grafton in his classic book *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990), is essential in more than one way. Presupposed in all kinds of forgery, falsifications or twisted versions of texts and documents circulating, authority is central to both observers: victims *and* forgers. Moreover, authority also calls for an authority, an authority speaking and punishing. This aspect is and remained quintessential. Hence, the graphic art novel *The Last Coiner*, authored by Peter M. Kershaw and published in 2006, is based on the exploits of the 18th-century counterfeiters, the Cragg Vale Coiners, who were sentenced to execution by hanging at Tyburn. And although the death penalty is no longer used in the United Kingdom, the counterfeiting of coins is still punishable by a prison sentence. But that apart, one key question concerns us here: how have textual forgeries and falsifications been received? What was and is socially and ethically acceptable in and out scholarly circles? For, forgery and falsification are a phenomenon as old as literature and science itself. In this volume we intend to gain some grasp of this vast and multifaceted subject in focusing on Greek, Latin or vernacular texts – from Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. We thus exceed both the period and theme as presented in the recently published volume, *Literary Forgery in Early Modern Europe, 1450–1800*, edited by Walther Stephens and Earle A. Havens, in which the imaginative vitality of forgery and its sinister impact on genuine scholarship is spotlighted.¹⁰ Interesting forgeries of material archeological

⁹ Grafton 1990, pp. 37 and 68.

¹⁰ Published by Johns Hopkins University Press in January 2019. Earle Havens, speaker at our International Lectio Conference on forgeries, could not contribute to this volume because of the preparation of this book. In addition, it deserves mentioning that he now published his paper in his own book *Fakes, Lies, and Forgeries: Rare Books and Manuscripts from the Arthur and Janet Freeman Bibliotheca Fictiva Collection*, Baltimore: Sheridan Libraries, 2014; 2nd revised edition, 2016.

findings or artistic productions are not in focus in this book neither.¹¹

Starting from a multidisciplinary textual scholarship, authors reflect on a methodological basis and a fruitful hermeneutical entrance. In concrete terms, they reflect on a threefold axis of questioning the phenomenon of forgery, on three recurrent aspects: the motif of falsification, the mechanism or technique applied and, third, the direct or indirect effect of this fraud. As scholars from different disciplines working on texts, either authoritative or forged, stemming from different periods of time, have contributed to this volume, we hope that both philologists, intellectual historians, scholars working in the field of book history, textual criticism, philosophy and theology will gain from this interdisciplinary approach.

This book has been organized in both a thematic and chronological way: three studies are devoted to rhetoric, one to epigraphy and medicine each, two to ancient philosophy, one to theology and one to Renaissance humanism.

In our opening chapter *The Documents in the Attic Orators: Early Antiquarians and Unintentional Forgers* Mirko Canevaro tangles the short texts preserved in the manuscripts of the Attic orators. Despite their incongruities, these documents have been regarded as genuine until J. G. Droysen demonstrated that it concerned later insertions. Fictitious laws and decrees can also be found in judicial declamations and rhetorical school exercises. Time and again an Athenian settings was regarded as a convenient fiction. Forgers, however, did not intend to deceive: they wanted to fill gaps in important texts with plausible Athenian laws and decrees and, thanks to textual transmission, bound them to the authority of the orators themselves.

How forged orations by Aeschines, Demades and Demosthenes were received in the Renaissance, is the very subject of Luigi Silvano's study. Having been transmitted in an anonymous compilation of the 12th century only and having been spread separately

¹¹ Interesting, in this area, is Trafficking Culture, a research consortium that produces evidence-based research into the contemporary global trade in looted cultural objects (see <https://traffickingculture.org>). On art fraud, a most recent and up-to-date synthesis is offered by Chappell & Polk 2009, pp. 393–412.

from the 15th century onwards, four speeches advocating the acceptance or refusal of the peace conditions imposed by Alexander the Great knew a wide readership. The question why these pieces were so popular in the Quattrocento is one thing; the other is why skillful humanist scholars – Lorenzo Valla excepted – did not notice the forgery. With what expectations did they read the Attic orators so that these interpolated speeches never seemed suspect to them?

Another famous speech, present in most of the early printed editions of Cicero's *Opera Omnia*, is the *Oratio ad populum et equites*, purporting to be the speech Cicero delivered the day before he withdrew into exile in 58 BC. Despite the fact that historical circumstances contradict the veracity of this speech, it remained in the Ciceronian corpus well into the 17th century. In her chapter *The Fate of the Pridie: Tracing the Decline of Manuscript Authority* Katherine East discloses how the manuscript tradition made scholars believe that the speech earned a place in the collection of 'Post reditum speeches'. One of the major elements in their view was that the speech first occurred in a 9th-century manuscript containing all the genuine 'Post reditum speeches' of 57 and 56 BC. Forgery or falsification: it made the Ciceronian tragedy all the more lively and tangible.

If inscriptions from antiquity have been forged or falsified time and again, and this in all regions of the former Roman empire, 15th- and 16th-century Spain saw the emergence of a great number of false inscriptions which only existed in the manuscript tradition. Texts, never engraved on stone, were invented and modelled after extant ancient inscriptions in order to justify historical realities. Strikingly, as Joan Carbonell Manils and Gerard González Germain expound in their chapter entitled *Causes, Opportunities and Methods in the Falsification of Roman Epigraphy in Renaissance Spain. The Case of the Tetrachs' Inscriptions*, these 'invented' Spanish inscriptions from the end of the 15th and the 16th centuries seem to have concerned the period of the Tetrarchs especially, and that for specific historical reasons. Motives behind forgeries, so it appears once again, are often political.

The question of motif and method is a central question to Robert Leigh. In his chapter entitled *Is On Theriac to Piso*

a Forgery?, he does not intend to tangle the long and ongoing discussion – undecided and likely to remain so – questioning the authenticity of this so-called Galenic work quoted as if by Galen as early as the 6th century and circulating as his in both Latin and Arabic translation as well as in the original Greek. Whatever the outcome – it being genuine, wrongly attributed or a sheer forgery –, it is the impact of including it in the Galenic corpus which has important consequences and which faces us with another question. For, if Galen did write this treatise – very unlikely so –, it raises the question of self-plagiarism and fraud. In his writings, Galen did repeat himself often so that he could have become an easy target of fraud, and Galen's views on Asclepiades uttered in it, could help to revise his biography and intellectual-medical position. Yet, whereas such pastiches are known for literary works, no example is extant in the long list of pseudonymous medical material. In addition, Leigh readdresses the whole issue of plagiarism and fraud by using computer analysis thus demonstrating that the author is not always as consistent as one might have expected from the composer of a pastiche. Fraud, forgery, falsification? A deliberate antique invention of this medical tract would serve no real purpose.

Galen does not stand alone. From antiquity onwards 'authorities' inspired to ingenuous fabrications or to cleverly made up attributions. Since antiquity itself the corpus of Pseudo-Pythagorean texts – in modern scholarship dated between the first century BC and the first century CE – has been presented as belonging to the work of the Pythagorean philosophers of the 4th century BC. By using an artificial language emulating the Doric dialect (used in Magna Graecia at the time of Pythagoras) 'scholars' wanted to support their dogmatic interpretation of Plato in the first place. Yet, the impact, so Angela Ulacco demonstrated in her acute contribution, was wider: Neoplatonic thinkers such as Iamblichus, Proclus and Simplicius based their interpretation of Plato and Aristotle, and especially their exegesis of their natural philosophy, on the (Pseudo-)Pythagorean works, so that the impact aimed at in a first distant period went much further in later ages, and moved from the false use of one 'authority' – Pythagoras – to another, new exegesis of philosophical 'authority' (Plato and Aristotle).

The subtle, yes porous frontier between genuine and spurious authorities in late Antiquity and Byzantium is shown by Félix Racine in his chapter on *Pseudo-Plutarch's On Rivers and the School Tradition*. Falsely attributed to Plutarch, this 2nd-century treatise *On the Names of Rivers and Mountains*, offers a list of twenty-five rivers and all myths, plants, stones and mountains surrounding them. Whereas more than sixty quotations have been adduced so as to reinforce the text's authority, these quotations seem to be spurious. Racine interprets this intriguing text as parody of the practice applied by the Roman grammarians such as Servius when teaching or expounding geography in Rome or Byzantium: in connecting places and mythological material, geographical and historical citations were detached from their textual origin – mostly from authoritative authors whom students never read – and developed into 'scholarly authority'. Despite its original character as a parody of scholarship, Pseudo-Plutarch's *On Rivers* was now integrated in scholarly compendia, both in Rome and Byzantium. Even pseudo-authority shifts.

Unsurprisingly, falsifications were customary tools in theological debates. A famous falsification affair has now been revisited and studied in an in-depth, new way by Christian Müller. In his attempt to defend Origen whose work he was translating, the monk, historian and theologian Rufinus composed his *De adulteratione librorum Origenis* – an appendix to his translation of the *Apology* of Pamphilus, and intended to show that many of the features in Origen's teaching which were then held to be objectionable in fact arise from interpolations and falsifications of the genuine text. As even a scholar and translator such as Jerome had been tricked when reading a *libellus* of Athanasius, manipulated by an Apolinarist, Müller enters into the very techniques used for this falsification. Intriguingly, Müller's deep study of these techniques and the different modes of falsification at stake, lead to a new identification of this *libellus* of Athanasius, used by Jerome because of its authoritative aura: viz. *De Trinitate XI*. In this theological and Christological debate authority was the main argument, yet, it seems to be the most tricky one alike.

Religious debates, however, evolved into bitter and fierce antagonisms in later centuries. Posthumously published in 1624

and falsely attributed to the great philologist Isaac Casaubon, *The Originall of Idolatries* was disputed immediately by his son Meric Casaubon. In her contribution – *The Forgery of Isaac Casaubon's Name: Authority and The Originall of Idolatries* – Jacqueline Hylkema uncovers the anti-Catholic motives leading Abraham Darcie to translating an anonymous 16th-century French pamphlet and to misattributing it deliberately to Casaubon. Moreover, Hylkema discloses how Casaubon's name and fame – an authority full of associations useful to Darcie's intentions – fitted in this set-up, and how this process of detecting and proving forgery reflected the same techniques and methods used by the forger.

All chapters in this volume show how false and forged writings impinge on social and political realities, on scholarly and religious milieus, both in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period; both in vernacular and Latin and Greek texts. All authors also capture the striking evolutions, the remarkable continuities and shifting attitudes in this long story of ongoing forgery. We hope that this book will find its enthusiast readers – in history, in literary studies, in philosophy and theology, in book history and in intellectual history.

We are most grateful to Brepols Publishers to host this volume in their series *Lectio: Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas*. It is our goal that this volume might contribute to the series' eminent agenda: highlighting the mechanisms of evolutions and changes in texts, the survival of ideas and concepts from Antiquity to the Renaissance. This volume is a collective enterprise. We thank all the participants present at the Second International *Lectio* Conference held in Leuven, 6–7 December 2012. Equal thanks go to all members of the Organizing Committee of that conference and to all members of the Scientific Committee. Their practical and intellectual input were essential to a successful two-days of intellectual dialogue. Equally fundamental was the invaluable support of the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO Flanders), the International Doctoral School for the Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Leuven, the Research Committee of the Faculty of Arts and the Institute of Philosophy of this University. Let us hope that this volume will be a worthy *antidotum*. Its scope, at least, is ambitious: to unveil the truths of forgeries.

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THE DOCUMENTS
IN THE ATTIC ORATORS
EARLY ANTIQUARIANS
AND UNINTENTIONAL FORGERS

The *corpus* of the Attic orators is one of the vastest *corpora* extant from the ancient world. The speeches it contains were for the most part composed in the 4th century BC and shed light on the world of classical Athens as no other evidence does. They do not only take us into the middle of the political struggles of the time; they also guide us into the households of the Athenians, help us understand their wealth or poverty, their beliefs, their family and social dynamics, their day-to-day life. We can read 16 Assembly speeches written by Demosthenes (or transmitted as his own), one of very dubious authenticity attributed to Andocides, and a few epideictic speeches preserved across the *corpus*. Yet the vast majority of the extant speeches of Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Deinarchus and Apollodorus were intended to be pronounced in a lawcourt.¹ They are concerned with topics as diverse as unconstitutional laws, inheritance, marriage, homicide, trade disputes, wounding and assault.

These were (with the exception of some speeches by Isocrates) no pretend speeches: they were meant to convince a panel of popular judges within a judicial setting, and the orators, like modern lawyers, used for this purpose not only their rhetorical art

¹ Usher 1999 is a general account of all Attic oratory, with a focus that is mainly rhetorical. MacDowell 2009 is limited to the *corpus Demosthenicum* but provides an excellent introduction to Attic oratory and Athenian lawcourt practice. The best general introduction to Athenian law and lawcourt procedure is still MacDowell 1978, but see now also the chapters of Harris-Canevaro 2015, with reference to more recent scholarship.

(which has come to be thought of as the most distinctive feature of ancient oratory), but first and foremost evidence that their case was correct: laws and decrees, of course, which were explained and discussed, and whose meaning was sometimes twisted to support the case, as well as witness statements, contracts, inventories, oracles, etc.² These documents were not simply discussed and explained by the orators: judicial procedure prescribed that all the documents that were to be discussed in the lawcourt should be presented beforehand at a preliminary hearing, and sealed in an *ἐχῖνος*, a vase that would be opened at the trial, and from which the documents would be taken by a secretary and read out when the speakers requested it.³ Therefore, in the judicial speeches of the *corpus* we often find expressions addressed to the secretary such as ἀναγίγνωσκε τὰς μαρτυρίας, ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἔτι ὑπόλοιποι (*read all the witness statements that remain*) (Dem. 43, 42), καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν (*please read the decree and the witness statement*) (Dem. 47, 40), and ἴθι δὴ λαβὲ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς προικὸς νόμον τουτονί (*come on now, read also the law about dowry*) (Dem. 40, 19).

Thus, the judicial speeches of the Attic orators are interspersed with requests to the secretary to read out a wide range of documents, yet for the most part these requests are not followed by any actual document. The speech resumes as if the document had been read out, and the speaker carries on discussing its contents, yet we find no document in any of the *testimonia* for the particular passage. This is true for the majority of cases, and suggests that, because the documents were already in the *ἐχῖνος* and therefore it was not the speaker's task to read them out, usually the orators did not include them in their drafts. On the other hand, in some

² For rhetorical and non-rhetorical (artless) means of proof and their use in Athenian lawcourts see Carey 1994a and 1994b. For the use of laws in courts see Harris 1994, Carey 1996, Canevaro 2013, pp. 27–36. On witnesses and witness statements see e.g. Humphreys 1985; Carey 1995, Griffith-Williams 2008; Martin 2008. For the use of laws and decrees in Attic oratory see Canevaro 2018b.

³ Cf. Sickinger 1999, p. 167; Thür 2008. Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 2–3, seems to suggest that documents were sealed in the *ἐχῖνος* only in private cases, if the arbitration failed, but the lid of an *ἐχῖνος* with the inscription ἐξ ἀνακρίσεως (SEG [*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*] 32, 329) shows that this practice was normal also in public cases (see e.g. Boegehold 1995, pp. 79–81 and Faraguna 2009, pp. 73–74).

speeches we do find documents,⁴ yet usually not in the whole medieval tradition of the speeches, only in one or two branches of it. The following table shows where documents have been preserved in the orators.

<i>Documents in Demosthenes</i>
<i>On the Crown</i> (XVIII): all until § 187
<i>Against Meidias</i> (XXI): all until § 169 (no § 130)
<i>Against Aristocrates</i> (XXIII): all until § 87
<i>Against Timocrates</i> (XXIV): all until § 151
<i>Against Lacritus</i> (XXXV): all
<i>Against Macartatus</i> (XLIII): all
<i>Against Stephanus A</i> (XLV): all
<i>Against Stephanus B</i> (XLVI): all
<i>Against Neaera</i> (LIX): all
<i>Against Leptines</i> (XX): one law (§ 27)
<i>Against Pantaeneutus</i> (XXXVII): quotations from ἐγκλημα (§ 22)
<i>Against Dionysodorus</i> (LVI): selections from contract (§ 36, 38)
<i>Documents in the other orators</i>
Hyperides: no documents
Isocrates: no documents
Antiphon: no documents
Deinarchus: no documents
Lysias: <i>Against Theomnestus</i> I (X), one document (§ 16)
Isaeus: <i>On the estate of Hagnias</i> (XI), one document (§ 81)
Lycurgus: <i>Against Leocrates</i> (I), one document (§ 11)
Andocides: <i>On the Mysteries</i> (I), laws and decrees (witness statements missing)
Aeschines: <i>In Timarchum</i> (I), laws and decrees (witness statements and contracts at §§ 100, 104, 115 missing)

⁴ For a general study of these documents see Canevaro 2013. For previous studies, see e.g. Droysen 1893, pp. 95–266 (originally published in 1839); Westermann 1844, 1850, 1859; Drerup 1898; Schläpfer 1939; and more recently MacDowell 1990; Trevett 1992, pp. 180–92; Kapparis 1999; Fisher 2001.

Since the 19th century there has been plenty of debate about the authenticity and the reliability of these documents.⁵ Despite the strenuous defense by some scholars of their authenticity, close analysis indicates that the majority of them are not texts preserved through direct transmission from classical Athens. They are often clumsy reconstructions of what a document might have looked like based on the surrounding text of the speech and a fair amount of guesswork.⁶ And yet they have been considered authentic for almost 2 millennia by ancient scholars such as Plutarch and Harpocration, as well as by early modern scholars such as Jacques de Paulmier (1668), Eric Dodwell (1701) and Edoardo Corsini (1744–1756). In the 19th century, with the rise of German *Altertumswissenschaft*, the documents were at the centre of a large-scale scholarly debate. Boeckh considered them unequivocally authentic, and formulated complex hypotheses to justify some of their most problematic features.⁷ Droysen showed that the documents of Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown* are not authentic, yet his analysis was initially countered by some of the most important names of German philology, Böhnecke and Voemel, and even when he was eventually recognized to be correct, the debate went on for decades about the rest of the documents.⁸ At the end of the 19th century the verdict, expressed in a learned monograph by Engelbert Drerup, was that a few documents were indeed inauthentic, yet the vast majority were not, and should be safely used for the purpose of historical reconstruc-

⁵ For the history of scholarship on the subject see Drerup 1898, pp. 223–47; Schläpfer 1939, pp. 13–18; Canevaro 2013, pp. 3–7.

⁶ See Canevaro 2013 *passim* for the most recent comprehensive assessment of the issue of authenticity (see also Canevaro & Harris 2014). For recent defences of the authenticity of at least some documents see e.g. MacDowell 1990, *passim*; Trevett 1992, pp. 180–92; Kapparis 1995 and 1999, *passim*; Hansen 2015; 2016a; 2016b; 2016c; 2017 (but see now Harris 2014, actually published in 2016; Canevaro & Harris 2016–2017; Canevaro 2018a; Canevaro 2019).

⁷ Boeckh (1874), pp. 266–300. He justified the incongruous *archon* names in many documents by arguing that the names were in reality those of the *γραμματεῖς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*. Cf. below, pp. xx–xx.

⁸ Droysen's demonstration (1893, pp. 95–266) that the documents of the speech *On the Crown* are forgeries was resisted by Voemel 1841–1844 and Böhnecke 1843. In the following years many studies debated the authenticity of the other documents: e.g. Westermann 1844, 1850 and 1859; Hermann 1847; Franke 1848; Herz 1878; Staeker 1884; Riehemann 1886; Schöll 1886; Lipsius 1905–1915, pp. 421–23.

tion.⁹ His opinion was upheld for most of the 20th century by scholars such as H. J. Wolff, D. M. MacDowell, M. H. Hansen, P. J. Rhodes, and M. Gagarin, to give just a few names,¹⁰ and only in recent years have scholars eventually started to contemplate the possibility that apart from specific cases (the documents of Dem. 23 and around half of those of Dem. 24), most of the documents in the orators are later creations.¹¹ In this chapter I shall try to explain the remarkable fortune of these texts in the scholarly tradition by examining their origin, the likely aims of those who produced them, and the reasons therefore for their fortune in the ancient (and modern) scholarly tradition. Close reading of these texts often shows them to be clumsy and obvious fakes – so where did they derive the authority to escape criticism of their authenticity in antiquity, and to be considered authentic also by modern scholars?

First of all, I would like to provide some examples of the sort of mistakes, anachronisms and incongruities that give away the inauthenticity of some of these documents. I shall use as example the documents of the speech *On the Crown*, but similar mistakes are also found in the documents from other speeches.¹² In these documents the most obvious signs of inauthenticity are the names of the *archons*. For example, the text of the γράφή at § 54 has Chaerondas as eponymous *archon*, yet Chaerondas was *archon* in 338/37 BC, and Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon's decree in 336. The decrees at § 29 and 37 have a Mnesiphilus as eponymous *archon*, but no Mensiphilus performed this role in the 4th century. The same is true of the Neocles of the decree at § 73. In this decree, not only has the *archon*'s name been invented, but also Eubulus, the famous statesman and son of Spintharus from Anaphlystos, becomes Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus from Kopros.

⁹ Drerup 1898.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Wolff 1970, pp. 68–76; MacDowell 1975, 1978 passim, 2009 passim; Hansen 1979–1980 and 1985; Rhodes 1984, 2003; Gagarin 2008, pp. 176–206 passim.

¹¹ e.g. Harris 2008 passim, Scafuro 2005, Canevaro 2010, Canevaro & Harris 2012 for a few examples of recent studies that question the authenticity of individual documents.

¹² For the documents of the speech *On the Crown* see Schläpfer 1939; Wankel 1975 passim, and most recently Canevaro 2013, pp. 237–319. For similar mistakes elsewhere see Canevaro 2013 passim.

At § 75 moreover Aristophon of Azenia becomes Aristophon of Kollytos. At § 105 the *archon* Polycles is also invented, and so on in nearly every decree quoted in the speech. In the document at § 29 we find 5 members appointed for the Second Embassy to Philip, and the only name that matches independent reliable information is that of Aeschines. In fact, we know that there were 10 ambassadors, not 5, and Demosthenes was one of them. In addition to these problems, the texts often present language and formulas inconsistent with contemporary material; in particular the prescripts of the decrees do not resemble Athenian prescripts. Sometimes the documents also mention officials and procedures that did not exist in ancient Athens (e.g. the decree at § 73 refers to the commander of an Athenian fleet as *ναύαρχον*, which is not an Athenian office¹³). Such features and errors prove beyond doubt that the documents in the speech *On the Crown* are not authentic, but must be later compositions.

That these documents, with all their mistakes and anachronisms, were not in the speeches from the beginning of their tradition is clear from various clues in the medieval manuscripts. First of all, such documents are usually not preserved in the whole manuscript tradition, but only in a few branches of it. The following table, which reports the presence of the documents in the most ancient manuscripts of the Demosthenic *corpus*, shows this clearly.¹⁴

	S	A	F	Y
<i>On the Crown</i>	v	x (from § 77)	v	x (added later in margin)
<i>Against Meidias</i>	v	x	v	v
<i>Against Aristocrates</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>Against Timocrates</i>	v	v	v	v
<i>Against Lacritus</i>	x	v	v	(no speech)

¹³ Cf. Canevaro 2013, p. 232 and n. 38.

¹⁴ The abbreviations for the manuscripts are: S: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2394 (9th/10th century); A: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 485 (10th century); F: Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale marciana, gr. 416 (10th century); Y: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2395 (10th century).

	S	A	F	Y
<i>Against Macartatus</i>	x	v	x	(no speech)
<i>Against Stephanus A</i>	x	x	v	(no speech)
<i>Against Stephanus B</i>	x	x	v	(no speech)
<i>Against Neaera</i>	v	(no speech)	v	(no speech)

Second and more important, stichometry provides clear evidence that these documents were later insertions. Stichometry is a system of measurement of texts used in Antiquity. It consisted of alphabetic marks, A B Γ Δ, etc., added in the margin of a papyrus typically every 100 lines of text, and a final count of lines written at the end in Attic acrophonic numerals. In the tradition of classical prose authors, the size of the lines measured in this way was usually roughly that of a Homeric hexameter.¹⁵ This, I have argued elsewhere, was probably due to the fact that classical prose texts were actually written in columns of around that size.¹⁶ These numbers were then uncritically transcribed from one copy of the speeches to another next to the same passages of the texts, without any regard for the size of the lines of each new copy. They were probably useful to measure the text, and to assure that the copy at hand was complete. We have stichometric numbers extant for many Demosthenic speeches (which contain the majority of extant documents) in some medieval manuscripts.¹⁷

¹⁵ On stichometry the standard study is Ohly 1928. More recently, one can consult Lang 1999 and Kennedy 2011, pp. 4–10, 2012, chapters 2–3 on Plato's stichometry; and MacDowell 1990, p. 44; Kapparis 1999, pp. 56–57; Canevaro 2010, pp. 345 and 2013, pp. 10–27 on Demosthenes' stichometry.

¹⁶ Cf. Canevaro 2013, pp. 325–27.

¹⁷ Partial stichometries are preserved for *Olynthiacs* 2 (SF) and 3 (SF), *First Philippic* (F), *On the Peace* (F), *Second Philippic* (FB) (B = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 85 [13th century]), *On Halonnesus* (FB), *On the Chersonese* (FB), *Third Philippic* (FB), *Fourth Philippic* (FB), *Reply to Philip* (FB), *On the Crown* (SFBQ) (Q = Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale marciana, gr. 418 [10th century]), *On the False Embassy* (SFBQ [waar staat dit siglum voor??]), *Against Leptines* (SFB), *Against Meidias* (SFB), *Against Androtion* (SFB), *Against Aristocrates* (SFB), *Against Timocrates* (SFB), *Against Aphobus* 1 (S) and 2 (S), *Against Zenothemis* (S), *Against Apatourius* (S), *Against Lacritus* (S), *For Phormio* (S), *Against Pantaenetus* (S), *Against Stephanus* 1 (S) and 2 (S), *Against Olympiodorus* (S), *Against Timotheus* (S), *Against Polycles* (S), *On the Trierarc Crown* (S), *Against Nicostratus* (S), *Against Conon* (S), *Against Naeara* (SQ), *Letters* 1 (S),

In all these manuscripts the stichometric numbers fail to mark 100 lines of text in the particular manuscript, but are consistent in marking the same passages of the texts. This, coupled with the nature of the Demosthenic manuscript tradition, which does not have a medieval archetype, and all branches of which seem to originate independently from ancient editions of particular speeches,¹⁸ is evidence that the stichometric marks were applied to a very early copy of the *corpus*, perhaps the first, and I have argued elsewhere that this edition should be dated to the end of the 4th century BC or to the beginning of the 3rd, and be placed in Athens.¹⁹ These stichometric marks therefore take us back to a very early edition of the speech, very close to its actual composition. If one measures the number of characters per 100-lines stichometric section, the sections are remarkably consistent in size, both within the same speech and within different speeches of the same category.²⁰ The measurements are consistent among sections that do

2 (S), 3 (S) and 4 (S), *Prooimium* (SFB). Total stichometries are preserved for *Olynthiacs* 1 (SFB) 2 (SFB) and 3 (SFB), *First Philippic* (SFB), *On the Peace* (SFB), *Second Philippic* (SFB), *On Halonnesus* (SFBY), *On the Chersonese* (FB), *Third Philippic* (SFBY), *Fourth Philippic* (SFY), *Reply to Philip* (SFBY), *On Organisation* (SFBY), *On the Navy* (SFB), *For the Megalopolitans* (SFB), *On the Liberty of the Rhodians* (SFB), *On the Treaty with Alexander* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, gr. 69), *On the Crown* (SFBY), *On the False Embassy* (SFBY), *Against Leptines* (SFBY), *Against Meidias* (SFBY), *Against Androtion* (SFBY), *Against Timocrates* (SFBY), *Against Aphobus* 1 (SFBY) and 2 (S), *Against Ontenor* (SFBY), *Against Lacritus* (SFBY), *Against Nausimachus and Xenopeithes* (SF), *Against Boeotus* 1 (S) and 2 (S), *Against Macartatus* (S), *Against Leochares* (S), *Against Stephanus* 1 (S), *On the Trierarcic Crown* (S), *Against Callipus* (S), *Against Nicostratus* (S), *Against Conon* (S), *Against Eubulides* (S), *Against Naearea* (SY), *Funeral speech* (SY), *Eroticus* (SY).

¹⁸ Drerup 1899 was the first to describe the medieval tradition of the Demosthenic *corpus* as stemming from various ancient editions. The conclusive demonstrations that no medieval archetype can be postulated for the *corpus* are Pasquali 1934, pp. 271–78 and Canfora 1974–2000, I, pp. 65–98. Cf. recently also the new OCT edition by Dilts 2002–2009, vol. 1, pp. xvi–xvii.

¹⁹ Canevaro 2013, pp. 319–29. There is much evidence for such a dating and for an Athenian origin, in particular one should point out that total stichometries (the overall figure appended at the end of a speech) are marked in Attic acrophonic numerals, and all the evidence for stichometries with line-sizes similar to an hexameter point to the classical age. MacDowell 1990, p. 44 and Kapparis 1999, pp. 56–57 also believe that the stichometry refers to a very early edition of the *corpus*, possibly the first one.

²⁰ See Canevaro 2013, pp. 10–27 for stichometric calculations conducted on the public speeches of the Demosthenic *corpus*.

not contain documents and, if we take the documents out of the calculation, with the sections that do contain documents. On the other hand, if we include them, the results are widely inconsistent. This should prove beyond doubt that these documents, with their inconsistencies and anachronisms, were not part of the speeches from the beginning of their tradition. They were inserted at a later date.

I shall give only one example of how these calculations of characters per 100-lines sections (once one has cleaned the text of all characters and diacritics that could not be part of an ancient papyrus) show that the documents were later insertions. For Demosthenes' speech *Against Stephanus 1* (45) we have a partial stichometry in manuscript S, which preserves marginal signs A (§ 12), B (§ 23), Δ (§ 45), E (§ 57), H (§ 80) and lacks Γ and Z. Manuscript S also preserves a total stichometry of 793 lines for this speech, which indicates that H must have been the final marginal sign, and that the speech ended a few lines before Θ was reached. The speech lacks all documents in all the oldest manuscripts but F, where we find witness statements at §§ 8, 19, 24, 25, 55, 60, 61, a Διαθήκη at § 28, the Μίσθωσις Τραπεζῆς at § 31 and an Ἀντιγραφὴ at § 46. The first 100-lines section, from the beginning to A (§§ 1–12), measures 3921 characters with the witness statement, 3518 without. The second section from A to B (§§ 12–23) measures 3599 characters with the witness statement, 3485 without. The section from B to Δ (§§ 23–45), which covers two 100-lines section, measures 7491 characters, i.e. *c.* 3745 characters per 100-lines, whereas without the documents it measures 6948 characters, or 3474 per 100-lines section. The next section, from Δ to E (§§ 45–57) measures 3916 characters, whereas without the documents it is 3494 characters long. The next section, from E to H (§§ 57–80), because of the absence of Z, contains two 100-lines sections, and measures with the documents 7365 characters, 3682.5 characters per section, and without documents 6839 characters, 3419.5 characters per 100-lines section. The final part of the speech, which should be composed, based on the total stichometry, by slightly fewer than 100 lines (93 lines), measures 3211 characters, that is slightly less than the 3420 to 3520 characters figures we have found without reckoning the documents in the count, but remarkably less than any of the

measurements with the documents. And, more generally, while the figures without documents are very consistent among themselves and mark sections of similar length (even allowing for some corruption in the placement of the marginal marks), the figures with documents are completely inconsistent among each other. This shows beyond doubt that the documents were not originally part of the edition of the speech on which the stichometric marks were first applied, and from which the subsequent manuscript tradition originated.

Because these documents were later insertions, it is now time to propose a hypothesis about their origin, which should account also for the aim of their authors. Were they ‘forgers’ with the intention to deceive readers by composing fictitious documents and presenting them as authentic Athenian ones? I shall argue that it is highly unlikely that whoever composed these documents actually intended to deceive the readers into believing that they were original Athenian decrees, laws, contracts, etc. Their aim was rather to fill very obvious gaps in an extensive *corpus* with (more or less clumsy) reconstructions of what the documents might have looked like. These texts were the product of the intersection between rhetorical education and antiquarianism and, strictly speaking, if we follow Speyer’s definition of forgery, or Grafton’s typology,²¹ they were not forgeries, but rather very untypical cases of *pseudepigrapha*, which came to be attributed to a time and a place that were not their own, rather than to a specific author that was not their author. Speyer writes that *a case of forgery presents itself when the actual author does not tally with the indicated author and the mask was chosen as means to carry out an agenda that lies outside of literature (i.e., art). The constitutive conditions of a forgery are fulfilled only when the intention to deceive, or ‘dolus malus’, presents itself.* They were not intended to deceive, yet deceive they did, for a long time, and were never in ancient times subjected to the same kind of authenticity criticism that was instead so popular for particular speeches in the *corpus* of the Attic orators.²² In the final part of this chapter I will proceed

²¹ Speyer 1971, pp. 13 and 111; Grafton 1990, pp. 3–7, especially p. 6. Cf. also Metzger 1972, p. 4 and Eco 2007, pp. 203–18, especially pp. 203–04.

²² On ancient debates about the authenticity of various speeches preserved

to discuss how these apparently innocuous fillings for gaps in the texts of the orators came to acquire enough authority to be mistaken, almost without a doubt, for authentic documents for almost 2000 years, as though they had been directly transmitted from classical Athens to our critical editions through an unbroken chain of transcriptions.

The documents in the speeches of the Attic orators are mostly consistent in the medieval manuscripts and in ancient papyri: the same document is usually preserved in all the copies of a speech, ancient or medieval, that preserve a document at a particular point of the text. This would suggest that documents were added once as a full dossier by a particular editor, or by various editors for various speeches, and then spread to other copies and branches of the tradition through transmission and contamination. This impression, however, is misguided: despite the fact that all our medieval manuscripts of a speech with documents, and most ancient papyri with documents, preserve the same documents, there is in fact an exception. Papyrus Hauniensis 1.5, a papyrus from the 2nd century AD, preserves a few documents (a decree at § 217, 2 letters from Philip at § 221 and another 2 decrees at § 222)²³ from a passage of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* (Dem. 18, 217–23) that is devoid of documents in all our medieval manuscripts. This is clear evidence that in the ancient world copies with more, fewer and different documents circulated, that the tradition was not unitary from the beginning, but rather became unified at a later date. Even more remarkable is that another papyrus from the 2nd century AD, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 42.3009, reports one of the letters at § 221 which is also reported by Papyrus Hauniensis 1.5 (but not by the medieval manuscripts), yet the 2 papyri do not have exactly the same document: in one papyrus the letter has a prescript which is clearly addressed to the Boeotians, whereas in

in the *corpora* of the orators see in particular Dover 1968, who focuses however on the *corpus Lysiacum* only (cf. also Usher 1976). For the Demosthenic *corpus* in general (I avoid listing here studies on individual speeches) see e.g. Sealey 1993, pp. 230–41; Canfora 2006; MacDowell 2009 *passim*. Particularly concerned with issues of authenticity was Didymus, on whose work on Demosthenes see Gibson 2002 and Harding 2006 (both with commentaries on Papyrus Berololinensis 9780).

²³ Cf. Larsen 1938 for the *princeps*, and Wankel 1975 for a discussion of the documents.

the second one the prescript is addressed to the Peloponnesians.²⁴ This is further evidence that at a certain point of the tradition of the speeches, in certain branches, there was a variety of different documents which had been added to the speeches, and one could find more than one document for the same gap in the text. Yet somehow certain versions of the speeches, with a certain set of documents, managed to become more authoritative and eventually ended up being those preserved in the medieval tradition. Our ancient papyri show that this was already the case in and after the 2nd century AD. Apart from the 2 papyri that I have mentioned, all the papyri with documents preserve texts which we also find in the medieval manuscripts. Yet Papyrus Hauniensis 1.5 and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 42.3009 provide us with a glimpse into a previous, more confused tradition of these speeches, when different documents circulated.

Most papyri with documents come from the 2nd century AD onwards, yet the existence of a previous non-unified tradition shows that the documents had already been circulating for a while before that date. A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 11.1377, preserves a document from Dem. 18, 167 and is dated to the 1st century BC. This is evidence that already in the 1st century BC there was a tradition of these documents widespread enough to bring a copy of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* with documents as far as Oxyrhynchus. Unless we want to postulate that the documents of Dem. 18 originate in fact from Oxyrhynchus, we need to allow for a tradition that goes even further back.

It is clear therefore that the documents in our medieval manuscripts of the Attic orators are an authoritative selection from a vaster number of documents that circulated for centuries and had their origin in the Hellenistic period.²⁵ What could be the context of their composition? We can already rule out the possibility that they were composed for political and ideological reasons. I have conducted an extensive study of the documents in the

²⁴ For a comparison of this papyrus with the previous one see Wankel 1975.

²⁵ See Canevaro 2013, pp. 329–36 for a discussion of various attempts to place and date more precisely the origin of the documents, and for their shortcomings.

orators, and there is no underlying agenda, no obvious purpose for them except that of filling gaps in a text.²⁶ Their topics are varied: we find laws about theft, νομοθεσία, ὕβρις, inheritance, private contracts, statements by witnesses in very narrow private cases about an assault or a family dispute. We find laws about homicide and random lists of names that seem to be there only because the orator asks for a list of names. There is no external reason for their composition, no further point to be made by tampering with authoritative texts from famous orators and politicians from classical Athens. The reason for their composition must rather be internal: they were added to the speeches because the speeches were missing them. The orators asked for documents to be read out, and there were almost no documents in the speeches. The context of their composition must therefore be one in which the orators were studied. Their authors must be individuals, orators or scholars, who engaged productively with the writings of the orators, and that might have found the lack of documents, when the orators requested them, a nuisance.

The ideal context for such a work would be a rhetorical school, as Droysen already suggested.²⁷ In ancient rhetorical practice and education, producing fictitious laws was very common. One of the preliminary exercises (προγυμνάσματα)²⁸ for students of rhetoric, according to our sources, was called νόμος and involved arguing for and against a law or decree, which had been invented by the teacher for the purpose of the exercise.²⁹ This was one of the most advanced exercises in the rhetorical curriculum, directly connected with the preparation for composing and delivering

²⁶ Canevaro 2013 discusses an extensive selection of spurious documents, and no thread can be detected, no particular reasons for their composition can be found in their contents.

²⁷ Droysen 1893, pp. 246–53.

²⁸ Cf. Clark 1957, pp. 177–212; Kennedy 1983, pp. 52–73; Webb 2001; Gibson 2004. Προγυμνάσματα were already common in the Hellenistic age, cf. Kennedy 1983, pp. 54–55; Kennedy 2003, pp. xi–xii; Webb 2001, p. 307; Frazel 2009, pp. 26–28.

²⁹ Cf. Theon, *Prog.* 128–30; the text ends abruptly, but the rest of the discussion of the νόμος can be found in the Armenian version (translation in Patillon & Bolognesi 1997, pp. 99–102). Other sources are Aphth., *Prog.*, ed. Rabe, 46–51; Nic. Soph., *Prog.* 77–79. These texts are from imperial times but witness a tradition that stems back to the Hellenistic age.

a proper *declamatio* (μελέτη), a fictitious speech which was the centre of the production of professional rhetors from the Hellenistic age onwards.³⁰ Such speeches were either *suasoriae* or *controversiae*. In Greek practice these speeches often had a historical setting, usually the Persian wars or the age of Demosthenes, and even when they did not, their setting was an abstract Greek *polis* which very much resembled Athens, and whose laws very much resembled Athenian ones. This city has been ingeniously named by Russell *Sophistopolis*.³¹ *Controversiae* in particular discussed legal cases governed by a particular fictitious law, composed for the occasion, and this law was usually either positioned at the beginning of the speech, for reference, or quoted and discussed in the speech. Such practices, which witness that in the context of rhetorical education composing fictitious documents was common practice, are very well attested in Roman imperial times, but there is strong evidence that the practice of composing *declamations*, as well as the connected rhetorical training, were already affirmed in Hellenistic times, as early as the 3rd century. Quintilian (2, 4, 41) reports that *nam fictas ad imitationem fori consiliorumque materias apud Graecos dicere circa Demetrium Phalerea institutum fere constat* ('for it is generally agreed that the declamation of fictitious themes in imitation of the questions that arise in the law courts or deliberative assemblies came into vogue among the Greeks about the time of Demetrius of Phalerum'). Philostratus discusses a First Sophistic, founded by Gorgias, and a Second Sophistic, concerned *with the poor and the rich men, war-heroes and tyrants and with those named individuals drawn from history*. Aeschines started it out during his exile in Rhodes.³² Both sources

³⁰ On Greek μελέται see Russell 1983, in particular pp. 1–20 on their origin between the 4th and the 3rd century BC); Cribiore 2001, p. 232. On early examples of μελέται from the Hellenistic age, which are very consistent with the examples from imperial age, see now Kremmydas 2007; 2013; Canevaro 2018c.

³¹ On the historical themes of μελέται see Gibson 2004, and now Kremmydas 2013 for early μελέται. On the historical and legal setting of many Greek μελέται, see Russell 1983, pp. 37–39, 106–28 passim.

³² Philostr., *VS*, 481: 'Ἡ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαία σοφιστικὴ καὶ τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ὑποτιθεμένη διήκει αὐτὰ ἀποτάδην καὶ ἐς μῆκος, διελέγετο μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀνδρείας, διελέγετο δὲ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡρώων τε περὶ καὶ θεῶν καὶ ὅπη ἀπεσχημάτισται ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κόσμου. ἡ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην, ἣν οὐχὶ νέαν, ἀρχαία γάρ, δευτέραν δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον, τοὺς πένητας ὑπετυπώσατο καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς ἀριστείας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους

date the origin of practices typical of the Second Sophistic to the late 4th century. Their evidence is confirmed by at least two papyri from the 3rd century BC, Papyrus Hibeh 15 and Papyrus Berolinensis 9781: one is a speech advocating action against Alexander, and the other a reply to Demosthenes by Leptines, in answer to Dem. 20. Neither can be an authentic classical speech, because of many problems, anachronisms and mistakes (in fact, very similar to the kind of mistakes that we find in the documents), and they resemble closely later *declamationes*.³³ This is evidence that, as early as the 3rd century BC, the speeches of the orators were read, studied, discussed and reproduced.³⁴ In fact we know from a later source, Theon (*Progymnasmata*, ed. Patillon, 103), that a key part of rhetorical training was to deliver speeches of the Attic orators as if in court, maintaining the fiction of an actual Athenian trial in every detail:

Above all, we shall accustom the student to fit voice and gestures to the subject of the speech. It is this that actualizes the art of the speech. We shall present and imagine with the greatest care all that concerns an orator: his actions, credibility, age, and status; the place where the speech was delivered, the subject it treats, and everything that contributes to

καὶ τὰς ἐς ὄνομα ὑποθέσεις, ἐφ' ἃς ἡ ἱστορία ἄγει. ἤρξε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχαιοτέρας Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίως ἐν Θετταλοῖς, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀτρομήτου τῶν μὲν Ἀθήνησι πολιτικῶν ἐκπεσῶν, Καρία δὲ ἐνομιλήσας καὶ Ῥόδῳ, καὶ μετεχειρίζοντο τὰς ὑποθέσεις οἱ μὲν [ἀπὸ Αἰσχίνου] κατὰ τέχνην, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Γοργίου κατὰ τὸ δόξαν.

³³ Demosthenes' *Against Leptines* had a remarkably fortunate tradition. Philostr., *VS*, 527 mentions a speech on the same theme by Lollianus. Aelius Aristides in his *Third Platonic Discourse* (4, 3) refers to a 3rd speech for the prosecution of Leptines composed by himself, yet this is not preserved. We can read however a couple of speeches, allegedly by Demosthenes and Leptines, which have often been attributed to Aelius Aristides, but are more likely not to be his own (cf. Keil 1936). As late as the 13th–14th century the Byzantine scholar Thomas Magister wrote another two speeches for and against the exemptions (cf. Martin 2006). This long tradition of *μελέται* on the topic of Demosthenes' *Against Leptines* shows a strong continuity with the material in Papyrus Berolinensis 9781, which confirms that features of the later practices were already very common as soon as the 3rd century BC.

³⁴ See Kremmydas 2007 for an edition and discussion of Papyrus Berolinensis 9781. Kremmydas 2013 discusses 23 papyri of various length and status of preservation which contain rhetorical exercises from the Hellenistic age, and witness therefore how this tradition was very much alive as soon as the 3rd century BC; Canevaro 2018c discusses the early-Demosthenic reception, also in declamations preserved on 3rd century BC papyri.

the feeling that the speech actually concerns us as we read it aloud. (trans. Kennedy)

It is not hard to imagine that in a context in which the composition of fictitious 'Athenian' texts was very common, teachers, students and scholars may have attempted to fill the speeches of the orators with the missing documents. In this way, when a student was delivering the speech and came to ask a hypothetical secretary to read out a law, a decree or a witness statements, some other student could play the secretary and read out the document, thus preserving the fiction.

The documents composed for these purposes however were not simply educational tools produced by incompetent teachers. They were more: they were part of a context in which for the purpose of rhetorical education and activity the history, laws and institutions of ancient Athens were actively studied, to be exploited in new compositions. The quality of the documents varies, but their authors were not ignorant. They were obviously well versed in the writings of the Attic orators, and they knew Athenian history.³⁵ The context in which they worked is the same in which the first antiquarian and scholarly works on Athens and the orators were produced. Teachers and students of rhetoric were the public for which the first commentaries on Demosthenes were produced,³⁶ and were probably commentators themselves. Didymus' work,³⁷ like all the preserved ancient commentaries on Demosthenes,³⁸ is evidence of wide-spread interests in historical, constitutional and legal matters: the fragments of Didymus in Harpocration discuss *the layout of the theatre, the shapes of classical-era drinking cups, tithing, imprisonment, architectural elements, the requirement for advance deposits in court cases, guardianship and attainment of the majority, the arrangement of olive trees in groves, and clan-sponsored wedding feasts*. Papyrus Strasbourg 84, a papyrus commen-

³⁵ On their knowledge of Greek history see Gibson 2004.

³⁶ On the public of Didymus' and of the other commentaries see Gibson 2002, pp. 42–50.

³⁷ See Gibson 2002, pp. 26–35 for a discussion of Didymus' antiquarian interests. Cf. Harding 2006 for a commentary on Papyrus Berololinensis 9780 which preserves part of Didymus' work on Demosthenes.

³⁸ e.g. Papyrus Strasbourg 84 about Dem. 22, with the antiquarian interests of the author discussed in Gibson 2002, p. 40.

tary on Dem. 22 that certainly relies on Hellenistic materials deals with *the chairmanship of governmental committees, the Periclean building program, 5th-century Athenian finance, treasury officials, the jurisdiction of the 'thesmothetae', and the names and duties of archons and other officials*.³⁹ Rhetorical education, as we have seen, used the orators as models and an Athenian setting as a convenient fiction. In such a context the development of antiquarian studies about Athenian democracy and its institutions, though not an aim in itself, became necessary for a proper understanding of the speeches. The purpose of the authors of the documentary insertions was probably not that of deceiving the readers, but rather of filling gaps in very important texts for very practical reasons. They acted at the intersection between rhetorical education and growing antiquarianism on classical Athens, and exploited their competence to provide believable reconstructions of the missing documents. That they were not very successful in their reconstructions should not obscure the fact that these documents are in fact the first attempts to reconstruct the Athenian laws and decrees that they propose to report, an enterprise which is still the object of heated scholarly debate to this day.⁴⁰

It is now time to turn to the problem of how these early antiquarians were turned by an unfortunate chain of transmission into particularly successful 'forgers', whose work became so embedded in the tradition so as to fool historians for almost 2000 years. How is it that at a critical point in their transmission, when many speeches of the Attic orators were doubted and eventually dropped from the *corpora*, these documents made their way into the speeches without a single voice questioning their authorship? To understand how this happened, a certain amount of guesswork is necessary. First of all, it is necessary to postulate that, following an early proliferation of school copies of speeches with documents included, some of these copies came to be regarded as particularly authoritative, had significant fortune, and affirmed themselves in the tradition.⁴¹ It is not difficult to guess how copies of speeches

³⁹ These quotes are from Gibson 2002, p. 40.

⁴⁰ See Canevaro 2013 *passim* for assessments of the quality of the inserted documents, and analyses of their problems and shortcomings.

⁴¹ See Canevaro 2013, p. 336 for the hypothesis of *Zweiterexemplare* of the various speeches at some point in late Hellenistic times.

with documents came to circulate so widely: they were initially simply more useful for the teaching of the orators, and eventually they came to be considered more valuable because they were more complete. Booksellers may have advertised 'full' copies of a particular speech, and the average reader would have no reason to pick a copy without documents over one with documents.⁴² There is even the possibility that the *dolus malus* should be attributed to early copyists and booksellers that exploited the opportunity of circulating more 'complete' copies of a speech. Documents that were originally composed for practical reasons without any intention to deceive eventually acquired deceptive intent at a later stage of transmission – we could describe them as 'editorial forgeries'.⁴³ Of course, the added documents had no indication that they had an author that was not the drafter of the particular law or decree, or the witness writing the statement. They had simply been added to the speeches and, in time, through transmission, the notion that they were a different entity from the rest of the speech was lost.

This must be why their authenticity was never the object of criticism, in a context in which the Attic orators were scanned thoroughly for forgeries, and many of Andocides', Lysias' and Demosthenes' speeches were deemed inauthentic by scholars such as Didymus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and later Harpocration and Libanius. The documents were never analysed and considered separately from the speech of which they had come to be part (in a particular copy of that speech); their authenticity was not considered independently, but together with that of the speech. To make matters even more confused, and to facilitate the integration of the documents as natural parts of a speech, the very issue of the authorship of such documents was unclear. A speech could be considered written by Demosthenes, by some contemporary

⁴² On ancient booksellers and their practices cf. Birt 1882, pp. 353–60; Haenny 1885, pp. 24–88; Dziatzko 1897; Birt 1913, pp. 307–12; Schubart 1921, pp. 146–70. See more recently Van Groningen 1963; Kleberg 1967; Blanck 1992, pp. 113–29; and White 2009 (on Roman booksellers).

⁴³ During the excellent discussion at the conference from which this volume originated many pointed out that the line between 'forgery' and 'pseudepigrapha' is often blurry, and the *dolus malus* can occur at various stages, and does not necessarily need to be ascribed to the author of the forgery. This would be a case in point: the *dolus malus* was likely to be acquired by the documents at a later stage.

of Demosthenes, or by an imitator of Demosthenes. But who was the author of such documents, whose authority had been usurped? Were these documents independent entities, or rather part of the authorial effort of the orator, included by the orator himself to prove his case? In a context in which the presumed authorship of the documents was anyway unclear, any doubt about their authenticity was difficult to formulate, and the documents came to be considered, and exploited by ancient scholars and antiquarians as, normal parts of the speeches in which they appeared.

A few examples from Harpocration should help to illustrate the attitude of ancient scholars toward these documents and show that they simply failed to investigate their authorship. Harpocration discusses for example, *s.v.* Καθελών and Ἡ ἐν ὁδῷ καθελών (κ5 and ο2, ed. Keaney), a mysterious expression found in a document at Dem. 23, 53 in a homicide statute.⁴⁴ Here is not the place to discuss the meaning of the expression, or Harpocration's explanation. What is interesting is how Harpocration reports it: he simply states: Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους φησὶν 'ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ καθελών' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνελών ἢ ἀποκτείνας. Demosthenes himself uses the expression, according to Harpocration, and there is no mention in his discussion that the expression comes not from Demosthenes' speech but from one of the documents in it. The authorship of Demosthenes is assumed for the document itself. Harpocration, *s.v.* Ποδοκάκκη (π76 Keaney), once again, treats this word, which appears in a document at Dem. 24, 104,⁴⁵ as if it were used by Demosthenes himself, and points out that Lysias uses it too, despite the fact that Lysias uses it in his speech directly, whereas Demosthenes does not. The same happens with the word πρόπεμπτα (*five days before*), which according to Harpocration is used by both Demosthenes in Dem. 43 and Lysias in the speech πρὸς τὴν Μιξιδήμου γραφήν. Lysias' speech is not preserved, but since there are no documents preserved in Lysias' speeches, we can assume that Lysias used the word himself. This is not the case in Dem. 43. Demosthenes does not use the word: a document does. A similar attitude is found in evidence from a later

⁴⁴ On this document and this expression see Canevaro 2013, pp. 64–70.

⁴⁵ On the meaning of the expression, which, according to Lys. 10, 12, means *in the stocks*, cf. Todd 2007, p. 680 and Canevaro 2013, p. 164.

date: in the *Scholia Veneta ad Iliadem* 15, 36 the scholiast points out that it was a custom in Athens to swear oaths calling as witnesses 3 gods, Zeus, Poseidon and Athena, or Zeus, Poseidon and Demeter, as Demosthenes does in the *Against Timocrates*. Yet, once again, it is not Demosthenes who pronounces the oath. This is a later insertion, a document reporting a clumsy reconstruction of the Heliastic oath (Dem. 24, 151).⁴⁶

These examples show that ancient scholars, even those, like Harpocration, interested in reconstructing Athenian antiquities, failed to envisage these documents as separate entities, worthy of being assessed on their own. Their independent origin was soon forgotten, probably with the help of clever booksellers and naïve copyists, and they started to circulate as if they were parts of the speeches. Readers and scholars would read a Demosthenic speech and be unaware that parts of it could have a different authorship, and a different origin. The whole speech came to be considered a faithful reproduction of the orator's original draft. The documents were therefore unquestioningly attributed to the orators to whom the speech as a whole was attributed. As a result, they derived their authority from the authority of the orators themselves and were considered as reliable as any piece of information provided by the orators. This not only stopped any attempt in Antiquity to question their authenticity and reliability, but seriously hampered later attempts from the Renaissance onwards to tackle the issue: before stichometric analysis could be conducted, there was no reason for any scholar or reader to consider for these documents a separate origin from that of the rest of the speech. They were as reliable as Demosthenes or Aeschines were, and any mistake that came to light was more easily attributed to textual corruption or explained away through complex and ultimately unrealistic hypotheses about the working of Athenian archives.

A quick discussion of a few key stages in the early-modern study of Demosthenes will make clear how early-modern scholars, like the ancient ones, for a long time did not even consider the problem of the authenticity of these documents, because there was no notion whatsoever that their tradition might be different from that of the rest of the speeches. In the first Renaissance translation

⁴⁶ About this document and the oath see Canevaro 2013, p. 180.

of a Demosthenic speech into Latin, that of the speech *On the Crown* composed by Leonardo Bruni in 1406 and presented in April 1407 (*Pro Ctesiphonte*), the documents are absent.⁴⁷ This does not however seem to be due to a conscious recognition of their spuriousness, but rather to the difficulty of translating them, to the lack of interest by Bruni in strictly antiquarian matters,⁴⁸ or possibly to the fact that the manuscript that Bruni received from Manuel Chrysoloras for the purpose of the translation may not have contained the documents.⁴⁹ Another translation of the same speech, which is anonymous and has been dated by Monfasani between 1444 and 1453, also lacks all the documents.⁵⁰ This was very soon considered an important defect of these translations, to such an extent that in the 1440 Rinuccio Aretino undertook to translate specifically the documents to supplement Bruni's work.⁵¹

Bruni's omission of the documents was explicitly criticized by George of Trebizond. In the preface to his own translation dedicated in 1452–1453 to Alfonso d'Aragona, referring generically to the previous Latin translations of the speech *On the Crown*, he writes:

Accedit, ut incipientes tetigimus, quod multi temporibus nostris, cum Grecam recte nesciant linguam, que non intelligunt, necessario coacti relinquunt. Ea quasi parum utilia se preterisse impudenter contendunt. Ita non traductores, sed censores et iudices adversus auctores quos transferunt per ignorantiam se ipsos constituunt cum faciant ut traducti autores manci esse

⁴⁷ See Baron 1928, pp. 108–09; Hankins 1991, pp. 336–38; Tangri 2006, pp. 555–57 on Bruni's translation. Cf. Accame Lanzillotta 1986 for a new edition of the translation with an informative introduction.

⁴⁸ Cf. Accame Lanzillotta 1986, p. 24.

⁴⁹ A letter of Bruni to Niccolò Niccoli is evidence that Bruni received the manuscript from Manuel Chrysoloras: *orationes Demosthenes, quas Manuel mihi et Roberto nostro donavit, certior fieri cupio an Florentiae sint* (Luiso 1903–1904, p. 16, bk. 1 lett. 10; cf. also Hankins 2003, p. 252). Manuel's manuscripts have not been identified (cf. e.g. Pade 2005, p. 153), and it is possible that they lacked the documents (like e.g. A from § 77 onwards). See Accame Lanzillotta 1986, pp. 61–70 for a discussion of the relationship between the text translated by Bruni and the main textual branches in Demosthenes' manuscript tradition.

⁵⁰ MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale marciana, lat. XI, 129; see Monfasani 1976, p. 66.

⁵¹ MS Cambridge (MA), Houghton Library, lat. 124; see Lockwood 1913 and Monfasani 1976, pp. 65–66.

*videantur. Decreta et littere ab ipsis in hac oratione pretermis-
sonnia sunt quoniam in traducendo difficillima, que si quis igno-
rat, eum necesse est in investigando huius orationis artificio non
via et ratione niti, sed in plurimis divinare, que profecto ille
ipse Demosthenes, nisi putasset ad utilitatem legentium perti-
nere, pretermisisset omnia. Nunc vero, cum aliqua preterierit,
maxime qua ultra mediam orationem attulit, aliqua scripse-
rit, que citra mediam collocavit, signum est quasi fundamenta
totius orationes ea fuisse ab eo iudicata. Illud monstro simile est,
orationem in causa legitimi status eos traducere ausos cum leges
unde causa ipsa oritur preterire per ignorantiam cogerentur.*⁵²

George does not seem to have any notion that the documents are not an integral part of the speech, and believes that they derive from Demosthenes' authorial intention exactly like the rest of the oration. In the earliest preface (dedicated to an anonymous *pater optimus* identified by Monfasani with Vittorino da Feltre), from the mid-1440s,⁵³ he specified that the main target of his criticism was Leonardo Bruni: *Accedit quod Leonardus decretas et litteras quibus universa Ctesiphontis causa continetur nescio qua ratione motus non transtulit* ('And moreover I do not know for what reason Leonardo [Bruni] did not translate the decrees and letters contained in the whole speech for the case against Ctesiphon').

The same criticism of Bruni's translation for lacking the documents is found more than half a century later (1512) in the preface to John Cuno's edition of Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura*

⁵² Translation: And moreover, as we mentioned at the beginning, many scholars in our times, because they do not know the Greek language properly, forced by necessity fail to translate what they do not understand. And they, without shame, claim to have omitted these passages as though they were not useful enough. Thus they appoint themselves, because of their ignorance, not translators but censors and judges of the authors they translate, because they behave as if the translated authors seemed defective. The decrees and the letters in this speech are all omitted by them, because they are very difficult to translate. If one is unaware of them, it is unavoidable for him, in investigating the art of this speech, to proceed not rationally and methodically, but to conjecture in many points that Demosthenes himself actually omitted all these unless he deemed them of concern and use to the reader. But in fact, as he has omitted some, in particular those that he brought forward in the second half of the speech, and he has written down some others, which he placed in the first half, this is a sign that they were considered by him as the foundation of the entire speech.

⁵³ Monfasani 1976, pp. 65–66, and see Monfasani 1984, pp. 93–97 for the text of the preface.

hominis (Strasbourg: Matthias Schurer). His aim there was to defend medieval translators; Cuno criticizes Bruni's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* and then proceeds to comment on his translation of *On the Crown* with the words *elegantissimam illam prae ceteris Demosthenis orationem 'Pro Ctesiphonte' fuco suo tum oblitterasset, tum decreta plura, testimonia testium nomina and leges, unde totius orationis pendet intellectum, omittens detruncasset*.⁵⁴ Cuno once again does not conceive that these documents may not be authentic Athenian laws and decrees, and that they may have a separate tradition. Later translations of *On the Crown*, including the one by Lorenzo Valla, despite his experience in unmasking forgeries, included the documents.⁵⁵

Early antiquarian works did not fare any better: Guillaume Budé's *De asse and partibus eius* (Paris: in edibus Ascensianis, 1514) uses the documents as reliable evidence for various Athenian institutions,⁵⁶ and in the *Commentarii linguae Graecae* (Paris: Iodocus Badius Ascensius, 1529) he collects passages in the Demosthenic *corpus* with the word *πρύτανις* or the verb *πρυτανεύω*,⁵⁷ including those in the documents, which he therefore considered fully reliable. The first 'commentary' to an edition of Demosthenes (edited by Oporinus, published in Basel by Hervagius in 1532), composed by the otherwise unknown Jacob Ruber, relies heavily on Budé's work and treats the documents as any other section of the text.⁵⁸ Contemporary and later antiquarian works on Athens such as Carlo Sigonio's *De republica Atheniensium* (Bologna: Ioannes Rubrius, 1564), C. Salmasius' *Miscellae defensiones pro Cl. Salmasio, de variis observationibus & emendationibus ad Ius Atticum et Romanum pertinentibus* (Leiden: Ex Officina Ioannis Maire, 1645) and D. Heraldus' *Observationes ad Ius Atticum et Romanum in quibus Claudii Salmasii miscellae defensiones* (Paris: Alliot & Chastellain, 1650) also occasionally relied on the documents without finding problems with their contents and tradition. Joseph Scaliger also trusted forged documents such

⁵⁴ See Botley 2004, p. 61 n. 238 and Saffrey 1971, p. 50 for the text.

⁵⁵ See Monfasani 1976, 65–66.

⁵⁶ Budé 1557, 2, 204–10.

⁵⁷ Budé 1557, 4, 219–20. Cf. Grafton 1993, p. 156.

⁵⁸ Cf. Tangri 2006, pp. 545–47.

as Dem. 24, 20–23 and 18, 29 in his chronological works, and struggled to make sense of the chronological information they provided. For example, he relies on the letter of Philip preserved at Dem. 18, 157 as evidence that the Macedonian month $\Lambda\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ corresponds to the Athenian Βοηδρομιών .⁵⁹

One isolated scholar did indeed hypothesize that the documents may not be reliable: Vincenzo Contarini, in his *Variarum Lectionum Liber* (published in 1606), discussed the documents at Dem. 18, 29 and 37–38 and pointed out several chronological problems with the first decree and many further issues with the second (such as the identity of the ambassadors to Philip). Contarini listed various problems with both documents and wrote about the first one *quamobrem non iniuria hoc totum decretum mihi suspectum est*.⁶⁰ But his example found no followers until the 19th century. Jacques de Paulmier (Jacobus Palmerius) in his *Exercitationes in optimos fere auctores Graecos* (Utrecht: D., A. and A. à Gaasbeeck, 1668, p. 135) was the first to notice the most damning feature of the documents of Demosthenes' *On the Crown*: the eponymous *archons* reported in the documents are mostly nonexistent, and never match the reliable list of Athenian archons provided by Diodorus Siculus for the years 480–302 BC in books 11–20 of his *Bibliotheca*. However, the authenticity of the documents was so tied up with that of the speech as a whole, and to the authority of Demosthenes, that instead of drawing the obvious conclusions that the documents are forgeries, Palmerius tried to explain away the difficulty by hypothesizing that the names in the documents were not those of the eponymous *archons*, but rather belonged to other members of the board of *archons* (*Itaque suspicor in decretis, quae citantur a Demosthene, non notari archontem eponymum, sed alium e thesmothetis*).

Henry Dodwell noticed the same problem and again tried to explain it away by arguing that the names do not refer to the

⁵⁹ Cf. Grafton 1993, p. 151. The two passages discussed are J. Scaliger (1583), *Opus novum de emendatione temporum in octo libros tributum*, Paris: Mamertus Patissonius, pp. 49 and 40.

⁶⁰ V. Contarini (1754), *Variarum lectionum liber*, Utrecht: N. a Vuckt., G. Tieme a Paddenburg et A. a Paddenburg, pp. 93–97 (the original edition was published in Venice: Ciottus, 1606).

eponymous *archons*, but rather to the ἐπιστάται of the Prytaneis.⁶¹ Edoardo Corsini in his *Fasti Attici* (Florence: Ioannes Paulus Giovannelli, 1744–1756, vol. 1.7, pp. 305–06) named these problematic *archons* *Archontes Pseudeponymi*, and argued that the names given by Diodorus are those at the beginning of the year, but by the time the various decrees were enacted, the *archon* had changed in every single case, since they had either been deposed, or had died in the meantime. However unlikely such an hypothesis may sound, the authority of the documents was, through a unitary textual tradition, so tied up with that of Demosthenes himself that for these scholars finding an explanation of the problems was the only possible solution, because denying their authenticity would have meant doubting not only the documents, but the reliability of the entire Demosthenic *corpus*.

Even with the rise of German *Altertumswissenschaft*, some of the most important names in the early-19th-century study of Athenian legal and constitutional antiquities, such as Schömann and Boeckh, tried to explain away the *Archontes Pseudeponymy*.⁶² Schömann simply endorsed Corsini's hypothesis, and Boeckh advanced his own: in the Athenian archives files were organized by *archon* year, and therefore the name of the eponymous *archon* was appended at the beginning of each file, while each separate document was marked by the name of the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν. When later the documents were searched and found in the archives, the name of the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν would have been mistaken for that of the *archon*. Finally, in 1828 Spengel recognized that at least the *archon* names must be spurious, and Droysen, following Dobree's first suspicions (1833: *suspicio haec duo decreta, et omnia fere in hac oratione citata, spuria esse: certe alterutrum spuriae ἐκδόσει orationis tribuendum*), showed that the documents of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* are all forgeries (1839). Yet the very resistance with which Droysen's demonstration of the spuriousness of the documents of De-

⁶¹ H. Dodwell (1701), *De Veteribus Graecorum Romanorumque Cyclis obiterque de Cyclo Judaeorum aetate Christi Dissertationes decem, cum Tabulis necessariis. Inseruntur Tabulis Fragmenta Veterum inedita ad rem spectantia Chronologicam*, Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, pp. 192–93.

⁶² Boeckh (1874), pp. 266–300, originally published 1810; Schömann (1819), pp. 136–8.

mosthenes' *On the Crown* was met is further evidence for the strength of the link between the inserted documents and Demosthenes' text. Their long common textual tradition, presumably due to some unscrupulous ancient bookseller, had forged this link.⁶³

What I hope to have brought to light in this chapter is an interesting case study where early rhetorical/scholarly reconstructions of Athenian documents, the product of the work and learning of proto-critics and antiquarians, through the accidents of transmission and probably also through the deceitful intents of some clever booksellers, ended up acquiring the *dolus malus* that made them work as proper forgeries. Their textual tradition as parts of the speeches attached to them the authority of the orator himself, with the result that they were successful in escaping detection for almost 2000 years.

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⁶³ Cf. above pp. xx–xx for criticism of Droysen's work, and later attempts, down to very recent years, to argue that other documents in the *corpus* are authentic.

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Abstract

This chapter investigates the tradition of the documentary insertions found in the speeches of the Attic orators. First, it discusses their authenticity, at what point in time they were inserted in the *corpora*, and what their origin was – they originated in the context of Hellenistic rhetorical schools. Next, it turns to the issue of how they acquired such authority that they were considered authentic for centuries – it argues that the notion of their authenticity was strengthened by their permanence in the tradition, and transmission, of the speeches themselves, so that they were no longer recognised as separate.

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FOUR FORGED ORATIONS BY AESCHINES, DEMADES AND DEMOSTHENES AND THEIR RECEPTION DURING THE RENAISSANCE¹

1. *The Making of a Forgery*

The *prologus* of our story is set in Athens in 335 BC. Several ancient writers, including Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History*, 17, 15), Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, 13; *Life of Demosthenes*, 23; *Life of Phocion*, 17), Arrian (*Anabasis of Alexander*, 1, 10), the scholiast to Aeschines (3, 159) and Livy (*History of Rome*, 9, 18, 7), tell of an assembly which took place in the city immediately after the destruction of Thebes by the Macedonian army. According to these sources, Alexander, deeming the Athenians guilty of having helped the Boeotian rebels and of having given asylum to Theban refugees, threatened them with severe punishment should they not accept to banish the exiles and to submit as hostages the Athenian orators and politicians who had publicly opposed him. The citizens were thus convened to decide whether or not to satisfy such heavy demands.

The sources diverge on several issues, including the number and identities of the politicians and orators ordered as hostages by Alexander, the number and names of the citizens who pronounced speeches during the assembly, the contents of their speeches and the final decisions of the assembly. According to Diodorus, three discourses were pronounced, respectively by

¹ I owe bibliographical information and precious suggestions to Concetto Del Popolo, Lavinia Iazzetti and to the Tattiani friends Davide Baldi, Montserrat Ferrer Santanach and Andrea Guidi. This article was written in 2013, and has been slightly revised for the present volume. It has been published in an improved and enlarged version, in Italian, in Silvano 2019, pp. 1–61.

Phocion, Demosthenes and Demades; then the latter led a successful embassy to Alexander, who forgave the Athenians and gave them permission to try those citizens indicated by him according to their own laws. Arrian too reports of a successful mediation operated by Demades, whereas for Plutarch, it was Phocion who successfully interceded with the king (*Phocion*, 17; *Demosthenes*, 23: here, however, it is said that Demades led the embassy).²

What is certain is that none of the speeches pronounced at the Athenian assembly on that occasion – if they were ever pronounced at all – has survived in written form in its original version, nor were any likely available in antiquity. Indeed, at a certain point, someone might have felt the need to bridge this gap. The deliberative speeches purportedly given on that occasion by Aeschines, Demades and Demosthenes appear for the first time within the so-called *recensio vetusta* (or α) of the Greek *Alexander Romance* (i.e. ‘Pseudo-Callisthenes’), dating back to the late 3rd-early 4th century CE, and subsequently in its Latin version authored by Julius Valerius in the first half of the 4th century CE (the *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis*).³ After mentioning Alex-

² A complete reconstruction of the events concerning the assembly convened in Athens to discuss Alexander’s demands and its outcome is provided by Brun 2000, pp. 73–78; see also Worthington 2013, pp. 279–282. Plutarch is possibly implying that the Athenians sent two successive embassies to Alexander, the first led by Demades and the second by Phocion; on both occasions Demades played an active and perhaps decisive role in obtaining a reconciliation with Alexander. Ancient sources (and part of modern scholarship as well) tend to present Demades as a pro-Macedonian; his political actions, especially after the Athenian defeat at Choeronea in 338 BC and after the revolt of Thebes, could in fact lead to such a conclusion (however, according to Brun 2000, pp. 78–79, Demades’ politics was uniquely aimed at the good of Athens; see here, p. 170: ‘Démade eut avant tout pour souci principal l’intérêt de la cité’). As to Aeschines, after 338 he definitely favoured a conciliatory approach towards the Macedonians (as noted by Harris 1995, p. 149: ‘Aeschines’ own attitude to Philip shifted several times in response to changing circumstances. There is no sudden conversion to Philip’s cause, but a gradual adjustment to the new realities created by the king’s growing power’; a detailed treatment of the issue can be found here at pp. 124–54). Demosthenes, who had been a staunch opponent of the Macedonians, changed his view after the destruction of Thebes. Such a ‘nouvelle attitude’ is discussed, among others, by Carlier 1990, pp. 236–46, who observes (p. 238) that ‘dans ses interventions attestées après 335, Démosthène n’exhorte plus ses concitoyens à la résistance ou à l’insurrection, mais presque toujours à la prudence’.

³ Pseudo-Callisthenes, 2, 2–4 (ed. Kroll 1926, pp. 65–70); Julius Valerius, 2, 2–5 (ed. Rosellini 2004, pp. 77–87); for a commentary on these accounts and a discussion on the historicity of the events mentioned therein, I refer the reader

ander's orders to hand over the ten most prominent orators and pay him an annual tribute, both Pseudo-Callisthenes and Julius Valerius (whose two accounts differ in some slight particulars) introduce a first speech, that of Aeschines, who suggests that his fellow citizens should accept Alexander's demands unconditionally; then Demades takes the stage, urging the Athenians not to hand over the orators (he himself included), but to resist and prepare for war. The people next seek the opinion of Demosthenes, who stands up, praises Aeschines' discourse and confutes Demades' views, observing that it would not be wise to fight Alexander, as the Athenians, in fact, would not be able to prevail on the battleground; he therefore suggests adopting a conciliatory approach. The assembly eventually decides to send ambassadors to Alexander bearing a crown, a consistent sum of money and a decree expressing gratitude, and in exchange they are to ask him to renounce his previous demands. After receiving this embassy, the king is persuaded to forgive the city.

This whole narration is a deliberate piece of fiction – and a successful one at that.

From the High Middle Ages on, Julius Valerius' *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* also circulated through interpolated redactions that diverge from one another in several particulars; one of these is the so-called *Epitome Zacheriana* (produced no later

to Stoneman in Stoneman & Gargiulo 2012, pp. 377–84. The dating of the α redaction of Pseudo-Callisthenes is highly controversial. It is likely that the text as we read it now stems from the late 3rd century CE (though some scholars, such as R. Stoneman, have proposed an earlier dating to the Hellenistic period: on issues of composition and dating, see Braccini 2004, pp. XIX–XXIV; Stoneman & Gargiulo 2007, esp. pp. XXV–XXXIV; Hägg 2012, p. 118; Karla 2012, esp. pp. 637–38; Tabacco 2012). For a survey of literature on the *Alexander Romance*, see Stoneman 2011. I would not exclude the possibility that the compiler of the α redaction may have derived the topics of the orations (if not the orations themselves) from rhetorical exercises, possibly issued from a school *milieu*. Indeed, a *thema* entitled 'What words would the orators Aeschines, Demades and Demosthenes have pronounced before the Athenian assembly on the occasion of Alexander's demand for hostages after the destruction of Thebes?' could well have figured among the routine classroom assignments of a school of grammar and rhetoric in Late Antiquity; for instance, a *progymnasma* by Sopater (5th century CE) centres on the topic 'Demosthenes was sent as an envoy to deliver a crown to Alexander [...]' (the text was edited by Maggiorini 2012; as to the genre of this composition see esp. there, pp. 65–66; see also Berardi's (2013) review of Maggiorini's book, esp. pp. 414–15; more generally, on the types of these rhetorical exercises, see Amato & Ventrella 2009, esp. pp. 13–29.

than the 9th century), in which the text of the three orations is shortened and contains several innovations – one being that Demosthenes is said to have been sent on behalf of the city to deliver the crown to Alexander.⁴

By means of the *Epitome Zacheriana* the three orations entered the *continuatio mediaevalis* or *Supplementum* to Curtius Rufus, a compilation probably realized in France in the late 11th–early 12th century and conceived as an integration to the beginning of Curtius' *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, the first two books of which have not survived. The *Supplementum* was published for the first time together with Curtius Rufus' genuine books in 1615, and later in a new critical edition by Edmé R. Smits in 1987. It mainly consists of a collage of passages derived from Justinus, the surviving books by Curtius Rufus and other sources.⁵ After the narration of the facts regarding Thebes, the compiler introduces the assembly speeches, followed by the episode concerning Demosthenes leading the embassy to Alexander and presenting him with a crown, a particular which he derives from Julius Valerius' *Epitome*. At this point he adds a fourth speech allegedly pronounced by Demosthenes in the presence of the king; this text, later known as *Oratio ad Alexandrum*, is most probably the work of the compiler himself (though we cannot exclude his having derived it from a lost or unknown source). This speech, composed in the form of a *peroratio* addressed to the king in the name of the Athenians, combines a eulogy to the addressee with a praise of forbearance as a royal virtue. The *rhetor* explains that his fellow citizens harboured the Theban refugees, because they were moved by sentiments of compassion and humanity, not because they supported their rebellion. The king should thus spare Athens, the cradle of arts and science, also because in doing so he would show a magnificent display of clemency and would thus acquire, through the voice of the Athenian *literati*, immortal glory and fame. The king is of course impressed by Demosthenes' speech,

⁴ See *Iulii Valerii Epitome*, II, 2–4, ed. Zacher 1867, pp. 39–41 (orations); in II, 5 (ed. Zacher 1867, p. 41) it is said that the Athenians 'mittunt[que] Alexandro coronam auream per eundem Demosthenem'.

⁵ On the contents and sources of the *Supplementum* see Smits 1987, pp. 104–05, and, with particular focus on the four *oratiunculae*, Berti 2001, pp. 480–82; Silvano 2012, pp. 489–90; Leidl 2017.

changes his mind and decides to forgive the Athenians. The oration is actually a patchwork of passages taken from Cicero's *Pro Ligario* and *Pro Marcello* (two pleas for mercy addressed to Caesar on behalf of two of his former opponents), with the addition of a few more *tesserae* derived from Claudian and Justinus. Only a minor part of this text is therefore 'original'; nevertheless, it can be considered a remarkable piece of rhetoric, and its author quite outstanding for his time.⁶

The *Supplementum* seems not to have enjoyed widespread circulation; there are only six extant manuscript copies, two of which were produced in the 12th century (Smits 1987 based his edition on one of them, MS Oxford, *Corpus Christi College* 82, which he deemed to be closest to the archetype),⁷ and the others dating from the 15th century.⁸ It was later printed in the above-mentioned Curtius Rufus' 1615 edition.⁹ The *Supplementum* was also translated into French together with the rest of Curtius no later than 1468 by Vasque de Lucène.¹⁰

⁶ I will not address the issues of originality and plagiarism here; instead, I refer the reader to the literature discussed in Silvano 2012, esp. pp. 487–90.

⁷ This manuscript, probably originating from France, was 'once in possession of Richard Fox (1448–1528), bishop of Winchester and founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford' (Smits 1987, p. 100).

⁸ As to the circulation of the *Supplementum* in the Middle Ages, see Smits 1987, pp. 96–102. Already Sabbadini 1915, pp. 223–24 had highlighted analogies between this passage of the *Supplementum* and the accounts in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* (IV, 29; he and his collaborators may in fact have been familiar with the *Supplementum*) and Walter Burley's *Libellus de vita et moribus philosophorum et poetarum* (37), where the circumstances and contents of the orations are reported in similar terms. A more thorough inquiry would probably result in the discovery of other medieval sources mentioning the orations.

⁹ Curtius Rufus, ed. Masson 1615, pp. 657–88.

¹⁰ Alias 'Vasco Fernandez, Count of Lucena, a Portuguese gentleman attached to the Burgundian court in the household of Isabella of Portugal, wife of Philip the Good' (Ross 1963, p. 71; on his biography and literary activity see Bossuat 1946). The translation, completed in 1468 and dedicated to the new duke Charles ('the Bold'), was widely successful, with more than thirty manuscripts of the original redaction, plus two of a 'version rémaniée', listed in the repertory of Duval & Vieillard 2003 (see <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/miroir/quintecurce/traduction/para=Vasque.html> – accessed December 2013). Its popularity is also demonstrated by the number of prints, no fewer than six before 1555, the first of which was *Quinte Curse de la vie et gestes d'Alexandre le grant* and was published in late 1503 (Paris: Antoine de Vérard; *ISTC* nr. ic01005000).

2. *A Forgery in Disguise*

At some point, most probably in the late 14th or very early 15th century, someone extracted the text of the four orations from the *Supplementum*, thus originating their circulation as self-standing pieces of oratory. A *terminus ante quem* for the extrapolation is provided in a letter by Antonio da Romagno (born c. 1365 in Feltre, near Belluno) dated 1403. Antonio worked in the service of Pietro Marcello (1376–1428), the learned bishop of Ceneda (and later of Padova), who would send his secretary da Romagno manuscripts to be copied for his own private library.¹¹ On this occasion, Marcello had sent the four orations to Antonio da Romagno; we do not possess his accompanying message, nor do we have elements to ascertain whether he had sent the orations alone or rather a manuscript containing the orations and other items. However, in his reply to Marcello, da Romagno only mentions the speeches:

*Pergratam igitur mihi, praesul optime, rem fecisti cum ad me misisti quandam quasi Graiae facundiae gustum, ut qui Romanae principem eloquentiae diu colo, vestigium aliquod opera tua cernam, quo parentem quoque suspiciam linguae Atticae, Demosthenem inquit, quem non forte minus Athenae miratae sunt quam Ciceronem Roma et a quo ipso rudimenta dicendi Marcum Tullium auspicatum ferunt. Nec invitum equidem perlego quae Aeschinis sunt, qui de Graecis ad oratoriam laudem proximum, quantum audisse videor, a Demosthene gradum tenuit, suo quidem aemulo demumque victore, sed vel hoc non inglorius quod tantum concertatorem aliquandiu pertulit. At ille tertius horum medius a te positus, Demas, eo gratius a me noscitur quod adhuc is mihi fuerat inauditus.*¹²

You have done me a great favour, most honourable Bishop, by sending me a taste of Greek eloquence (so to speak). Being for so long a devotee of the prince of Roman eloquence, I may now, through your intervention, take a look at some frag-

¹¹ On Antonio da Romagno see Ganguzza-Billanovich 1980, esp. pp. 1–9 and Lanza 2001; on Pietro Marcello see Gullino 2007; on the relations between the two see also Faraone 2008, pp. 160–65.

¹² I quote from the edition in Faldon 2002, p. 63. For the sake of uniformity, here and in the following, I have normalized the orthography and punctuation of the Latin texts according to the norms of modern editorial practice for classical Latin.

ments and appreciate something written by the father of the Attic language. I am speaking of Demosthenes, who possibly was admired in Athens as much as Cicero was admired in Rome, and from whom Cicero himself began to learn the basics of the art of speech, as it is said. And I am also eager to read the speech by Aeschines; as far as I know, he occupied the second rank among the Greek orators, after Demosthenes, the latter rivalling with him and eventually proving his superior (nothing to be ashamed of, as Aeschines was indeed able to compete with such a rival, for some time at least). As to the third one, Demades, whose oration you wrote in between the other two, I had never heard of him before, and for this reason I am all the more grateful to you for letting me know of him.

Antonio da Romagno appears to be pleasantly surprised at receiving some fragments by these Greek orators, of whom he (as well as the vast majority of Western humanists at the very beginning of the 15th century) presumably had only some scant information; his assertion of Demosthenes being the most eloquent among the Greek orators derives from the *communis opinio* shared by the Latin authors, and not from any real knowledge of the Demosthenic works.¹³ Indeed, the first Latin translations of the Greek orators by Leonardo Bruni appeared only three years later (and it is possible that da Romagno never had access to them, for he died at the latest in 1409).¹⁴

¹³ See, e.g., Cicero, *Brutus*, 35–36: *nam plane quidem perfectum et quoi nihil admodum desit Demosthenem facile dixeris. [...] Huic Hyperides proximus et Aeschines fuit et Lycurgus et Dinarchus et is, cuius nulla exstant scripta, Demades alique plures* (transl. Hendrickson 1939, pp. 41–43: ‘For the perfect orator and the one who lacks absolutely nothing you would without hesitation name Demosthenes. [...] Next to him in point of time and rank were Hyperides and Aeschines, Lycurgus and Dinarchus, Demades – of whom no writings are extant – and several others’); and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 12, 2, 22, in which Demosthenes is said to have been the greatest of all the Greek orators (*principem omnium Graeciae oratorum*).

¹⁴ Bruni first translated the *For Diopithes* (i.e. *On the Chersonese*), in 1406, followed by the *For Ctesiphon*, better known as *On the Crown*, which he terminated in April 1407. In 1412 he finally managed to collect his *corpus Demosthenicum* and dedicate it to Nicola di Vieri de’ Medici. It comprised, along with the two above-mentioned orations, *Philippics* I, II, III (i.e. *Olynthiacs*), *On Peace*, *On the Treaty with Alexander* (wrongly attributed to Demosthenes), together with Aeschines’ *Against Ctesiphon*, a spurious *Epistula Aeschinis ad Athenienses* and an *Epistula Philippi in Athenienses* (see *Epistolographi Graeci*, ed. Hercher 1873,

In the following decades, the four fake speeches were widely circulated, so that they can surely be considered among the best sellers of the 15th century;¹⁵ in fact, there are more than two hundred known manuscripts containing either all or some of the four pieces.¹⁶ They became a standard item in miscellanies of oratory and epistolography and can also be found in manuscripts containing works by classical authors, as well as in anthologies of translations of authentic orations by Demosthenes, such as Bruni's. We may assume that many of the scribes and readers of the time believed these to be authentic translations from Greek originals. In various manuscripts, in fact, a translator's name is provided, and very often it is Bruni's (such attribution is to be found in several modern catalogues of manuscripts and repertories of old prints);¹⁷ moreover, as has been noted, these *oratiunculae* 'were so much more successful than Bruni's translations of the "real thing"'.¹⁸ In some cases they were copied together with orations and letters by Cicero, to whom they are also occasionally attributed.¹⁹ In at

pp. 41–43 and 461–67 respectively). As the presence here of the last two items indicates, there was an interest in epistles (it is worth noting that the fourth oration, *Ad Alexandrum*, is introduced as *epistula* in some manuscripts, and sometimes included in anthologies of *exempla epistularum*: see Leidl 2017, p. 301 and n. 42). Bruni's translations proved successful; his translation of *De corona*, for instance, is to be found in several 15th–16th century Ciceronian manuscripts as a substitute for Cicero's lost one. Some of these manuscripts also contain Bruni's translation of Aeschines, together with *De optimo genere oratorum*. On humanistic translations from Demosthenes and the Attic orators see Tangri 2006, esp. pp. 555–56, and Botley 2010, pp. 93–97.

¹⁵ The definition is in Monfasani 1988, p. 179 and Tangri 2006, p. 559.

¹⁶ A complete census of the manuscripts containing the orations has not yet been made. Berti 2001 has listed more than 170 *testimonia*; in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* there are 214 occurrences of one or more of these orations (of these, more than a hundred contain the four texts, more than fifty – but probably the number is underestimated – have *Ad Alexandrum* only, while more than twenty only have the three assembly orations). See Silvano 2012, p. 492 and n. 25. In some manuscripts (for instance MS *Yale University*, Marston 4, fol. 2^v: Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 166 n. 4) there follows a reply by Alexander.

¹⁷ On this fake attribution to Bruni see Hankins 1997, p. XXIII; Berti 2001, pp. 477–78; Tangri 2006, p. 560; see the list of *testimonia* in Silvano 2012, p. 492 n. 27; and Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 166 n. 1 (who indicates MS *Yale University*, Marston 100 and MS *Bryn Mawr College*, Gordan 33).

¹⁸ Tangri 2006, p. 560.

¹⁹ For instance in MSS *Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxell.* 21951; *Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat.* XI 3 (4351) and *Marc. lat.* XII 139 (4452); *Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Vitt. Em.* 221 and *Vitt. Em.* 999;

least one manuscript they are introduced as the work of Gasparino Barzizza (1360–1430).²⁰

The purported speeches probably reached their peak of popularity around the early 1470s, when four incunable editions were produced. In three of them, all printed in northern Europe, the *oratiunculae* are part of an anthology of brief and accessible moralizing texts, among which Pseudo-Seneca's *De virtutibus cardinalibus sive de formula honestae vitae* (such books were possibly conceived as reading primers for students of Latin).²¹ A very rare edition of the orations in a single leaflet of four recto-verso pages was subsequently printed in Rome in 1475.²² In the early 1490s the speeches were printed again in Brescia, together with a selection of epistles by Cicero.²³ The only 16th-century print known to me is the one edited by Alardus of Amsterdam in 1539, in which the orations are presented as translations by Rudolf Agricola.²⁴

A reconstruction of the original text of the *excerptum*, i.e. of the first redaction containing just the orations, would require a collation of all the *testimonia*. However, in a previous study on the tradition of *Ad Alexandrum* based on the collation of 68 manuscripts and three printed editions, I have come to some provisional conclusions, which may, albeit cautiously, be applied to the whole corpus. All the 15th-century witnesses that I have

Firenze, *Biblioteca Riccardiana*, *Ricc.* 503 and 1200; New York, *H. P. Kraus* (private collection); Segovia, *Biblioteca de la Catedral*, *vit.* 29; see also the incunable mentioned below, n. 23 (Rodríguez Risquete 2011, 166, n. 3; Silvano 2012, pp. 493–94).

²⁰ MS Bergamo, *Biblioteca Angelo Mai*, *MAB* 61 (Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 166 n. 2; Silvano 2012, pp. 493–94). Barzizza was a Ciceronian and authored numerous orations and a collection of model letters for classroom use.

²¹ The oldest prints are possibly the two produced in Cologne in the early 1470s: *ISTC* nr. is00426500, entitled [Pseudo-]Seneca, *De remediis fortuitarum* [...], [Pseudo-]Demosthenes, *Orationes duae de Alexandro Magno habitae in senatu Atheniensi* [...], to be dated 1471–1472; and *ISTC* nr. is00409000, entitled [Pseudo-]Seneca, *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus* [...], [Pseudo-]Demosthenes, *Orationes duae habitae in senatu Atheniensi de recipiendo vel repellendo Alexandro Magno*, dated c. 1472. Possibly derived from the latter is *ISTC* nr. is00409500: [Pseudo-]Seneca, *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus* [...], printed in Paris in 1473.

²² *ISTC* nr. id00139500.

²³ *ISTC* nr. ic00540400, printed in Brescia in 1493. Here, as in some manuscripts (see n. 19 above), the orations are introduced as translations by Cicero.

²⁴ Agricola 1539, II, pp. 171–74. See below.

examined share a number of textual variants with respect to the *Supplementum*, thus leading me to assume that these innovations are the work of the *excerptor*. When extrapolating the speeches from their original context, in fact, he cut away the narrative sections that precede and follow each text in the *Supplementum* (lines 174–78, 187–88, 203–05, 227–31 in Smits' edition), gave short titles to each speech (i.e. the orators' names) and introduced minor adjustments to the texts themselves, changing the word order here and there and in some cases substituting one word with a synonym: e.g. *generosior* instead of *graciosior* (l. 276 Smits), *ad deos* for *ad Iovem* (l. 235 Smits), *ingenito* for *ingnato* (l. 239 Smits) and *dicenda* for *ducenda* (l. 253 Smits); the most evident integration is *quam ostendere debes ad omnes* after *tue gloria clementie* of the *Supplementum* (l. 239 Smits).²⁵

Of the 72 witnesses of *Ad Alexandrum* which I have consulted thus far, a restricted group (collectively named '*Alex^a* redaction' in my previous study) differs from the text of the *Supplementum* only in the above-mentioned passages; I therefore assume that it represents the most ancient stage of the *excerptum*. The other *testimonia* present numerous other discrepancies with respect to the text of the *Supplementum*, in the form of *lacunae*, dislocations of words and interpolations.²⁶ At a certain point the text of the oration circulated in such corrupted redactions that virtually every copyist or reader felt authorized or obliged to make his own emendations in order to solve the most problematic passages, either picking up *variae lectiones* that he found in his/other exemplar(s) or conjecturing on his own. To give only one example, *victis a te*

²⁵ All the discrepancies between the *Alex^a* redaction and the medieval *Supplementum* are listed in Silvano 2012, p. 500, and can be observed by consulting the two facing texts printed in the Appendix to this article. Rodríguez Risquete 2011, pp. 172–73, provided an edition of the text of *Ad Alexandrum* based on a collation of the *Supplementum* with four manuscripts of the humanistic *excerptum*: one is MS Città del Vaticano, *Vaticanus latinus* 5223, the same used by Sabbadini for his 1915 edition; the other two are MS Barcelona, *Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral* 66 and Paris, BNF, *Parisinus latinus* 7868 (in which the text is copied twice – as in MS Casale Monferrato, *Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile*, I b 20). I have not examined the Barcelona or Paris manuscripts, but judging from Rodríguez Risquete's text and *apparatus criticus*, they surely belong to what I have called the *vulgata recensio* (or *Alex^b* redaction).

²⁶ In addition to the witnesses listed in Silvano 2012, there can now be added the incunabula printed in Rome in 1475, which belongs to the *recensio vulgata* of the orations (see above, n. 22, and below, Appendix).

of the *Supplementum* and of the best manuscripts of the humanistic *excerptum* was corrupted into *vix apte*, which is to be found in numerous manuscripts, including the one employed by Sabbadini for his edition (Città del Vaticano, *Vaticanus latinus* 5223, the same manuscript containing the letter written by Antonio da Romagno to Pietro Marcello).²⁷ This leads me to conclude that Pietro Marcello could not be identified as the *primus excerptor* of the text (a possibility considered plausible by several scholars), and therefore that 1403 only represents a *terminus ante quem* for the circulation of the *vulgata recensio* to which his manuscript pertains.²⁸ The as yet unknown Renaissance individual first responsible for circulating the speeches must have extrapolated them from Curtius Rufus' *Supplementum* within the last decades of the 14th century (or at the very beginning of the 15th century). Though these conclusions issue from a study of the transmission of the text of *Ad Alexandrum* (which enjoyed wide circulation as a self-standing piece), it is plausible that they also apply to the whole corpus of the four orations.²⁹

²⁷ On this MS, probably completed not much later than 1409, see Sabbadini 1915, p. 210; Faraone 2008, pp. 157–60.

²⁸ See the discussion on this issue in Silvano 2012, pp. 499–502 and notes. Sabbadini was inclined to believe (though honestly admitting that he could not advance any evidence for this) that Marcello was the author of the forgery; his opinion is echoed in several studies (including Prete 1964, p. 20 n. 1; Bertalot 1975, p. 246; Monfasani 1988, p. 179; Speyer 1993, pp. 31–32; Rosellini 1993, p. 63; Hernández Muñoz 2002, p. 350; Rodríguez Risquete 2011, pp. 166–67 suggests that the diffusion of the false attribution might have spread from the intellectual circle of da Romagno and Marcello, also including Gasparino Barzizza). Berti 2011, pp. 484–85 admits that Antonio da Romagno's letter does not provide elements on which to judge the issue and suggests that it is possible that, as we do not have Marcello's letter (which might have contained a description of the manuscript he was sending to da Romagno), Antonio himself may have been the extrapolator. However, this would seem improbable to me for several reasons: first, in Antonio's reply we only read about the fragments of the orators, without any mention of their context, i.e. the *Supplementum* to Curtius Rufus – which would have deserved mention, as in fact it would have represented, at least for Antonio da Romagno, a newly discovered text (though one could suppose that Antonio deliberately intended to produce a forgery); second, the text of the orations in the manuscript of da Romagno (published in Sabbadini 1915) belongs to what I have called the *vulgata recensio* (which compared to the redaction attested by other manuscripts – here called *Alex^a* – contains several trivializations and inconsistencies) and thus cannot be the source of the whole humanistic tradition of the orations.

²⁹ The three assembly orations (Pseudo-Aeschines, Pseudo-Demades and Pseudo-Demosthenes) were included by De Falco (1954, pp. 51–54) in his edi-

Having sketched the history of the formation and diffusion of these four fake pieces of Attic oratory, we will now survey some opinions and comments on them expressed by Renaissance readers and see whether, or to what extent, the issue of their authenticity was raised.

3. *Accepting vs. Unmasking the Forgery*

Despite the vast circulation of these texts in the 15th and 16th centuries, traces of a debate on their authenticity or authorship are rare. The first humanist to have highlighted (at least in written form) textual correspondences between *Ad Alexandrum* and Cicero's *Pro Marcello* was, as far as I can ascertain, Antonio da Rho (Antonius Raudensis, 1398-c. 1450) in his *Imitationes rhetoricae* (or *De imitatione*). This mammoth compilation has survived in a few manuscripts attesting several editing phases and has not yet been published in its entirety; however, excerpts of it have been made available by Corrias in his edition of Lorenzo Valla's so-called *Raudensianae notae*, written to confute Antonio's theses.³⁰ In *Imitationes* 11, 1, 14, Raudensis writes:

Demosthenes in oratione ad Alexandrum sic ait: 'Quis enim vel nobilitate vel probitate vel optimarum artium studio vel clementia vel quovis alio laudationibus titulo te praestantior?'

tion of the *fragmenta* and *testimonia* of Demades. De Falco apparently believed himself to be the *editor princeps* of these texts and was thus unaware that they had been previously published by Remigio Sabbadini (1915, pp. 241–42: neither scholar knew of the existence of the *Supplementum* edited by Masson in his 1615 edition of Curtius Rufus, nor of the Renaissance prints of the *oratiunculae* mentioned above). De Falco edited the speeches on the basis of merely five manuscripts, differing in several points from the text of the incunables printed in Cologne (which I assume to be close to the original redaction of the *excerptum*: Silvano 2012, pp. 499–502 and *infra*); among other discrepancies, De Falco's text omits an entire sentence in the third speech ('videte ne, si partem servaverimus, totum perdamus').

³⁰ A Franciscan friar and author of several scholarly works, Antonio da Rho first taught in Milan under the auspices of Gian Maria Visconti (from 1431) and later at the *Studium* of Pavia. He began working on the *Imitationes* (an enormous encyclopaedic treatise in the form of an alphabetical lexicon devoted to issues of language and style and notions of history, literature and antiquity) in the early 1420s and constantly re-elaborated it until at least 1442, presumably never issuing a definitive edition. The work circulated as of the mid-1430s, though it did not enjoy wide popularity. For a detailed account, see Corrias 2010, pp. 87–89 and 273–77.

Cicero nescio an haec verba furatus ab Demosthene an sit imitatus. Ait enim de M. Marcello ad Caesarem sic: 'Quis enim illo aut nobilitate aut probitate aut optimarum artium studio aut innocentia aut in laudis genere prestantior?' Item Demosthenes de Alexandro sic: 'Nec ullius tantum flumen ingenii non dicam ornare, sed narrare res tuas gestas posset'; Cicero de Caesare sic: 'Nullius tantum flumen ingenii, nulla dicendi tanta vis tantaque copia, que non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Caesar, tuas res gestas posset' [...] Nec miretur quispiam, si eadem pene verba Demosthenis dixerit: loquebatur enim ad Caesarem, quem sciebat omnes disciplinas et artes tam Graecas quam Latinas, omnes res gestas, sed imprimis si de Alexandro scripta erant, percaluisse.³¹

In his oration to Alexander, Demosthenes says: 'Quis enim vel nobilitate vel probitate vel optimarum artium studio vel clementia vel quovis alio laudationibus titulo te praestantior?' I do not know whether Cicero plagiarized the words of Demosthenes or rather imitated them. In fact, Cicero, when taking Marcello's defence, addresses Caesar as follows: 'Quis enim illo aut nobilitate aut probitate aut optimarum artium studio aut innocentia aut in laudis genere praestantior?' Again, Demosthenes has this to say about Alexander: 'Nec ullius tantum flumen ingenii non dicam ornare, sed narrare res tuas gestas posset'; and here is Cicero on Caesar: 'Nullius tantum flumen ingenii, nulla dicendi tanta vis tantaque copia, que non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Caesar, tuas res gestas posset'. [...] One should not be surprised if he used the same words as Demosthenes, for he was addressing Caesar, whom he knew to be extremely impassioned about every single aspect of Greek and Latin culture and arts, including history, and especially about everything that had to do with Alexander.

If on the one hand we must admit that Raudensis was learned enough to point out the presence of identical passages in *Ad Alexandrum* and Cicero's oration, on the other there is no doubt that the explanation he provides for such parallels is an example of that lack of critical sense that has been underlined as a typical fea-

³¹ Ed. Corrias 2007, pp. 267–68 (based on MS Avignon, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, 1054, fol. 119^{r-v}). Antonio's *exemplar* belongs to what I have named the *vulgata recensio* (see above, n. 25). The two passages between quotation marks are from Cic. *Marcell.* 4.

ture of his scholarly work.³² Naively enough, Raudensis maintains that in his *Pro Marcello* Cicero imitated (or perhaps plagiarized) Demosthenes' oration, because he might have felt it appropriate to address Caesar with the same words of praise used by Demosthenes when addressing Alexander; in fact, he argues, Caesar was fond of Greek letters, and was also an admirer of Alexander.³³ Raudensis, however, did not consider that his reasoning implied that Cicero would have relied on a Latin version of the oration identical to the one he himself had at his disposal (quite a remote possibility, indeed),³⁴ whilst he overlooked the most probable explanation, viz. *Ad Alexandrum* being mostly a plagiarized version of Cicero's orations.

As soon as he received a copy of the *Imitationes* from Raudensis, Lorenzo Valla conceived the idea of writing a confutation of it, due in part to his discovery that Raudensis had plagiarized some of his own observations and innovative ideas on the Latin language. He therefore composed the *Raudensianae notae*, whose criticism primarily concerns Raudensis' inaccuracy with regard to sources. In the first redaction of the text, completed around 1443, Valla comments on the above-quoted passage by Raudensis in such terms:

[*Antonius Raudensis*] *plurimis verbis comparat sententias Demosthenis ad Alexandrum et Ciceronis ad Caesarem, nec novit non esse illam Demosthenis orationem, sed fictam a Petrarcha aut nescio quo alio, eoque quidem magis quod superadversus fuit Demosthenes Alexandro et Aeschines amicus. Atqui orationes, quae feruntur esse amborum, discrepant a vita*

³² As Corrias 2010, pp. 284–85, points out, Antonio da Rho put the classical writers on the same level as medieval and contemporary ones, without making a clear distinction of the existence of different stages in the development of the language and of diverse levels of style; and it is this lack of perspective that prompted Valla to dismiss him as a dilettante scholar.

³³ It is questionable whether Caesar was concerned with imitating Alexander (as undoubtedly was the case with other Roman generals, such as Pompeius): see for instance Green 1989 (who is sceptical about this); Pelling 2011, pp. 26–28.

³⁴ Antonio da Rho may have thought that such a translation could have been produced by Cicero himself; as mentioned above (n. 19), this was in fact stated in several manuscripts and in one printed edition. Whether Cicero effectively translated Demosthenes is a debated issue (see Manuwald 2007, p. 135; Leidl 2017, p. 289), though most humanists thought he did (see at least Botley 2004, pp. 111–12; Silvano 2012, p. 494 n. 32).

*illorum, immo etiam a genere dicendi. Postremo Demades, cuius oratio una e quattuor illis esse dicitur, nihil scriptum reliquit; fuerunt enim quidam praestantissimi viri, qui loquendo eloquentissimi doctissimique cum essent, nihil tamen memoriae mandaverunt: Pythagoras, Parides, Socrates, Demades, Carneades.*³⁵

[Antonio da Rho] spends many words comparing some passages from the discourses of Demosthenes to Alexander and of Cicero to Caesar, ignoring the fact that the former is not a real oration by Demosthenes, but rather a forged one, the forger being either Petrarch or someone else; it is all the more so because Demosthenes was extremely hostile to Alexander, whilst Aeschines was on friendly terms with him. Furthermore, these speeches, said to have been written by these two orators, are not in agreement with what we know about their biographies and are by no means in accordance with the style peculiar to them. Lastly, one of these orations is said to be by Demades, of which no written work survives – as was the case with other distinguished men, such as Pythagoras, Paris, Socrates, Demades and Carneades, who albeit extraordinary and most learned orators, nonetheless did not write anything down.

In the second redaction of the *Raudensianae notae*, composed in c. 1448–1449, the passage underwent some changes:

*[Antonius Raudensis] comparat sententias Demosthenis ad Alexandrum et Ciceronis ad Caesarem, nesciens non esse illam Demosthenis orationem, sed fictam ab aliquo Latino; itemque alias tres, quarum unam est Demadis, qui – ut notum est – nihil scriptum reliquit, ut Pythagoras, ut Socrates, ut Carneades, qui omnes cum loquendo mirabiles extiterint, nihil tamen litteris mandaverunt. Ipsa tamen inspectio deprehendit illas esse commentitias orationes longeque a Greco sermone et ab illorum oratorum vita abhorrentes.*³⁶

Antonius da Rho compares some passages from the discourses of Demosthenes to Alexander and of Cicero to Caesar, ignoring the fact that the former is not a real oration by Demos-

³⁵ Lorenzo Valla, *Raudensianae notae*, first redaction, 10, 1, 5–6, after Corrias 2007, pp. 459–60.

³⁶ Lorenzo Valla, *Raudensianae notae*, definitive redaction, 1, 11, 6–7, after Corrias 2007, p. 268.

thenes, but rather a forgery made by some Latin writer. As to the other three speeches, then, one of them is attributed to Demades, who, as it is known, left nothing in writing; and we know that there were also distinguished men, who, albeit exceptionally eloquent and learned orators, such as Pythagoras, Socrates, and Carneades, nevertheless did not write anything down. It suffices to take but a look at them to unmask them as fakes, as they neither reflect the structures of the Greek language nor are in agreement with what we know about the biographies of these orators.

The method applied by Valla is the same adopted to unmask more famous forgeries, such as the purported correspondence between Seneca and St Paul and the Donation of Constantine.³⁷ Valla produces both linguistic and historical evidence; thus, to the attentive reader's eye, these speeches immediately appear as 'commentitiae', and 'longe a Graeco sermone et ab illorum (i.e. of the orators) vita abhorrentes'. It may sound odd to infer from the style and language of a (supposed) translation whether its original existed or not; probably Valla is implying that some features of these texts, such as the redundant use of rhetorical expedients (e.g. alliterations and repetitions, and the series of *dicola* and *tricola*) give the impression of resulting from the pedantic application of basic principles of prose composition, rather than recalling the usage and style of Demosthenes. Valla may have also doubted the authenticity of these texts because of their excessive brevity, which might itself be a signal of reported and summarized – if not completely invented – speech, as is the case with many fictive speeches and epistles circulating at the time; indeed, a genuine bouleutic oration would have undoubtedly been more complex and articulated. Valla then adduces the historical evidence, first pointing out that Demades is known to have left nothing in writing; he does not mention his sources but may have derived this information from Cicero and Quintilian, among others.³⁸ Second, he argues that

³⁷ Surveys on Valla's work on forgeries are found in Speyer 1993, esp. pp. 34–44 and in Linde 2011, who provides an updated bibliography.

³⁸ See Cicero, *Brutus*, 35–36 (quoted above, n. 13) and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 12, 10, 49: 'plurimi eruditorum aliam esse dicendi rationem, aliam scribendi putaverunt, ideoque in agendo clarissimos quosdam nihil posteritati mansurisque mox litteris reliquisse, ut Periclem, ut Demaden' [transl. Russell 2001,

what is said in the orations contradicts what is known of these orators' biographies, probably alluding here to the opinion shared by all ancient sources that Demades had been a supporter of Macedonian politics; on the contrary, in the speeches attributed to them, both Aeschines and Demosthenes show themselves to be favourable to a compromise solution with Alexander, whilst Demades urges his fellow citizens to go to war with the Macedonians.³⁹ Antonio da Rho had evidently not been able to assess the historical resemblance of these alleged assembly orations.

All this notwithstanding, the discovery of identical passages in Cicero and in the fake orations of Demosthenes is to be ascribed as a merit to Raudensis; such similarities, apparently, were overlooked by several contemporary scholars and readers, even after the first edition of Valla's *Raudensianae notae* was published in 1481. I have not found a single note regarding the authenticity of the orations in any of the manuscripts or printed editions examined thus far.⁴⁰

Even learned humanists who translated the fourth oration into their vernacular apparently did not cast doubts on its authorship. The Catalan writer and courtier Pere Torroella (c. 1420 – c. 1492) composed a Castilian version of it, entitled *Razonamiento de Demòstenes a Alexandre*, probably between 1452 and 1462. Torroella, who may have had access to the Latin text during his sojourn at the court of King Alfonso I in Naples (which lasted from 1452 to 1458), seemed to believe in the existence of a Demosthenic original, and it is possible that he deemed *Ad Alexandrum* to be a translation by Bruni.⁴¹

p. 309: 'the fact is that most scholars have held that the principles of speaking are different from those of writing, and that this is why some very eloquent speakers have left nothing for posterity, and nothing to add to the enduring literary heritage of the future (such were Pericles and Demades)'].

³⁹ See e.g. Cornelius Nepos, *De excellentibus duobus exterarum gentium*, 19 (*Phocion*), 2–3; see also the anecdotes mentioned in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 11, 10, 6 and Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 7, 2 ext. 13. The historical inconsistencies of the *Supplementum* are shared by the medieval sources quoted above, n. 8. On the behaviour of Demades, Demosthenes and Aeschines towards the Macedonians see above, n. 2.

⁴⁰ See above and n. 26.

⁴¹ For a more detailed account, see Rodríguez Risquete 2011, pp. 166–69 (with an edition of Torroella's Castilian translation at pp. 170–71; the text is also included in Archer's 2004 edition of Torroella's works, pp. 275–78).

The same holds for Bartolomeo della Fonte (Bartholomaeus Fontius, c. 1445–1513), who translated *Ad Alexandrum* into Tuscan in 1467.⁴² In the preface to the translation, dedicated to his friend and collaborator Francesco Baroncini, Fontius provides a summary of the oration, which includes a reconstruction of the events preceding the supposed public performance of the speech. All the information provided by Fontius is indeed derived from the text itself and its authenticity is in no way questioned, as can be inferred from this passage:

*L'oratione, adunque, la quale ebbe allora Demosthene a presso Alexandro, essendomi di nuovo venuta nelle mani, per rispetto che l'è molto utile e degna di mandarla a memoria, ho voluto in questo di tradurre e mandartela acciò che si chome io vegho molte cose grece per altri tradotte in latino, chosi tu anchora qualche chosa per me di latino in volgare tradotta leggere possa; la quale acciò che ti sia più facile a'ntendere ho-tti schripto l'arghumento di sopra.*⁴³

Well, as I once again came across the speech that Demosthenes pronounced on that occasion in the presence of Alexander, I have decided to translate it and send it to you [*scil.* Francesco Baroncini] because it is very useful and worth learning by heart. There are many Latin translations of Greek texts now available, and I would like you to have something translated by me from Latin into the vernacular; in order for you to understand it more easily, I have written the subject in the previous paragraph.

A curious testimony as to the reception of the orations is provided by Alardus of Amsterdam (1491–1544), who is known for having collected and published the works of Rodolfus Agricola

⁴² Fontius' translation has survived in two copies (one is in MS Yale University, *Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, 816 and the other in MS Firenze, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechi*, XL 43), and has been published in Silvano 2015. Another anonymous translation into the Italian vernacular (possibly dating from the 15th century) also survives; it was published by Manzi 1816, pp. 76–79 (to which Betti 1851, pp. 234–44 proposed some emendations, though not based on an actual scrutiny of the manuscripts; see Berti 2001, pp. 486–88). For a profile on the scholarly activity of Fontius see at least Caroti-Zamponi 1974 and Bausi 2011, pp. 197–366; further bibliography in Daneloni 2003 and 2013.

⁴³ Silvano 2015, p. 257.

(1444–1485).⁴⁴ Among Agricola's opuscles, Alardus printed the four orations of Aeschines, Demades, and Demosthenes, which he introduces as translations from the Greek by Agricola himself. As a preface to these texts, Alardus included a letter he had sent to the Flemish scholar Rutger Ressen (Rutgerus Rescius, c. 1495–1545), a former student of Erasmus, who as of 1518 was professor of Greek at the *Collegium trilingue* in Louvain (where he also worked as a printer), and had recently authored an edition of Demosthenes' epistles. In the letter (which is well-known to Agricola scholars because of its insight into how Alardus happened to collect some of the materials to be included in his edition), Alardus recalls that it was Barbara Vrije, Antonius Liber's daughter and a teacher at the Latin school in Alkmaar (at the time when Alardus also taught there), who had sold him the papers containing these alleged translations by Agricola. Alardus explains how he started to doubt the authenticity of the speeches and asks Rescius for advice.⁴⁵ The epistle reads as follows:

Alardus Amstelredamus Rutgero Rescio S. D.
Olim, suavissime Resci, cum perquam iuuenis una cum Bartholomaeo Coloniensi, viro cum Latine tum etiam Graece (ut temporibus illis) satis erudito, Alcmariae bonas literas profiterer, vix credas quanti pauculas admodum Rodolphi epistolas, lucubratiunculasque et fragmenta haec ceu τῶν λαχάνων προσθήκας auctarii vice vindicata redemerim, idque ab Antonii Susatensis filia Barbara, virgine cum primis Latina et facunda, principio apud Campos, deinde Aemstelredamum, postremo Alcmariam patrum memoria cum patre, optimo formandae iuuentutis magistro, publice docente. Quam opinor Daphnen tibi, sic satis fuisse familiarem sub id temporis, cum Alcmariae, per quam adolescens, Graece doceres. Nactus has opes quibusvis gemmis mihi cariores, pulchrae mihi visus sum quicquid erat peculii in eas expendisse, tantisper dum non ita multo postea elegantissimam Ciceronis orationem pro Q. Ligario evolvissem. In cuius

⁴⁴ Alardus was initially a teacher in Alkmaar, and then as of 1514 in Louvain; he worked as a corrector for the Martens printing house and entered the circle of friends of Erasmus (on him see de Graaf 1958).

⁴⁵ On Anton (de) Vrije from Sost (Antonius Liber Susatensis, d. c. 1507) see van der Laan 1998, pp. 14–16. Rescius had taught in Alkmaar between 1514 and 1515, before moving to Leuven; for a profile of this scholar see Van Rooy (forthcoming).

*calce cum ita scriptum reperissem: 'Nihil est enim tam popolare, quam bonitas: nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis, nec gravior, nec admirabilior misericordia est: homines enim ad deos nulla re potius accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua maius, quam ut possis: nec natura melius tua, quam ut velis, conservare quam plurimos', his vixdum degustatis mox mihi detractae sunt cristae, sensique me (quod aiunt) χάλκεια χρυσείων, id est, aerea pro aureis coemisse. Proinde quaeso te, mi Resci, diligenter excusso Demosthene, scrupulum hunc mihi quam ocissime velim eximas, hoc est, supposititios ne an non, foetus hos esse censeas. Bene valebis. Alcmariae.*⁴⁶

My dear Rescius, when I was still but a boy attending in Alkmaar the school of humanities of that man of significant erudition in Greek and Latin for his time, Bartolomeus from Cologne, you cannot imagine how much I spent to recover short letters, opuscles and fragments by Rodulfus like those attached to the present letter, indeed 'not worth a penny' – τῶν λαχάνων προσθήκας –; and this was through Barbara, Antonius Susatensis' daughter, a girl who had acquired a good mastery of Latin and of the art of eloquence and who taught in public first in Campen, then in Amsterdam, and finally in Alkmaar, at the time of our fathers, together with her father, an outstanding teacher in the instruction of young people. But I presume that you are familiar with such a Daphne, since by that time you, though young in age, were teaching in Alkmaar. So, having found such a treasure, which was more precious to me than any jewel could be, I happily decided to spend all the money I had in my purse for it. Not much time thereafter, however, I happened to read Cicero's most elegant oration 'In defence of Ligarius', and at the end of it I found the words '*Nihil est enim tam popolare, quam bonitas: nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis, nec gravior, nec admirabilior misericordia est: homines enim ad deos nulla re potius accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua maius, quam ut possis: nec natura melius tua, quam ut velis, conservare quam plurimos*'. As soon as I completed reading this passage, all my excitement vanished, and I realized that I had exchanged *chalcheia chryseion*, that is 'bronze

⁴⁶ I quote from *Agricola* 1539, II, pp. 171–74; on this letter see IJsewijn 1988, p. 27 and van der Laan & Akkerman 2002, pp. 54–55. The Greek passages are proverbial expressions: cf. respectively, e.g., Diogen., II, 25; and Hom. *Il.* 6, 236; Erasm., *Adag.* 101 (for other *comparanda* see Tosi 2017, nr. 530).

for gold', as they say. Therefore, dear Rescius, I am asking you, who have carefully read the whole Demosthenes, to eliminate my doubt as soon as you can and assess whether or not this progeny is legitimate. Farewell. Written in Alkmaar.

Unfortunately, we do not possess Rescius' reply (that is, if he ever sent one).

In the same years, Celio Secondo Curione (1503–1569), professor of *humanae litterae* at Lausanne, authored a Latin paraphrase of the four speeches. In his dedication letter to the commissioner of the paraphrase, Ottaviano Ferrero, Curione did not address the issue of the orations' authenticity.⁴⁷ The same goes for Pedro de Rúa, who wrote a Castilian version of the four speeches in the late 16th century.⁴⁸

From the end of the 16th century on, the orations were very rarely copied into manuscripts, and they were never printed again (whilst the medieval *Supplementum* to Curtius Rufus, from which these texts had been extrapolated, went to press in 1615, as we have seen). Nonetheless, the fourth one, *Ad Alexandrum*, continued being cited throughout the entire Renaissance.

4. *Ad Alexandrum as a Commonplace*

Of the four orations, *Ad Alexandrum* was surely the most widely known and extensively quoted in the Renaissance. Refined scholars and learned men had managed to unmask the forgery, as in the case of Valla, or at least to cast doubts on its attribution, as with Alardus, while others surely detected the textual similarities between Cicero's speeches and *Ad Alexandrum*, as Antonius Raudensis had done;⁴⁹ nonetheless, this oration continued to be

⁴⁷ The Latin text of this epistle (dated July 1543) can be read in Curio 1553, p. 219; an Italian translation in Silvano 2019, p. 26; on Curione see Biasiori 2015.

⁴⁸ Pedro de Rúa was 'lector o catedrático de Humanidades en Ávila y Soria': Hernández Muñoz 2002, p. 349; on his translations of the four orations see here pp. 349–52; the edition of the texts (transcribed from MS Madrid, *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, 7806, fols 143^v–145^v) is at pp. 367–70.

⁴⁹ Cicero's *Pro Ligario* and *Pro Marcello* enjoyed remarkable popularity in the 15th century, judging from the number of extant manuscript copies; they were also very frequently included in school anthologies and textbooks: see Mack 2011, p. 30; Silvano 2011, p. 493 and n. 29. Two translations of the latter into

cited as a Demosthenic piece well into the 17th century in writings of various genres and scopes, such as works of erudition, orations, epistles, political pamphlets and even juridical and devotional treatises. In particular, quotations from *Ad Alexandrum* seem to have become a ubiquitous ingredient in pleas for mercy and in discourses on the virtue of clemency. I would suggest that at least some of these quotations depend not on the original text, but rather on commonplace books or manuals of style and prose-writing⁵⁰ (which might also explain why Demosthenes' authorship is never questioned by the authors of these quotations). Below, I have listed a few brief examples, though a more systematic survey would most likely uncover dozens of other occurrences.

One such occurrence appears in a letter addressed by the Franciscan friar and theologian Franciscus Micheli (c. 1396/7–1480) to Pope Sixtus IV in 1472.⁵¹ It is a petition aimed to persuade the pontiff to exempt the Minorites from the payment of a tithe recently imposed on the clergy, for they, as Micheli argues, already lived in a state of extreme poverty. Immediately after the *incipit*, a long passage from *Ad Alexandrum* is incorporated into the text with no mention of the source, the only adjustments being the substitution of the address-formula *rex* with *beatissime pater* (plus some slight changes in the wording of the last sentence). Evidently, Micheli thought (Pseudo-)Demosthenes' words would be very appropriate in soliciting the Pope's mercy.⁵²

the Italian vernacular survive (one made in the 13th century and the other in the 15th century): see Bianco 2008; Berti 2010, pp. 3–5.

⁵⁰ Such as Giason Denores' treatise *Della rhetorica* (where the four speeches are presented in Italian translation: Denores 1584, pp. 193–97).

⁵¹ On Francesco Micheli see Zaccaria 2010.

⁵² This letter, subscribed 'ex Florentia, die 17 mensis martii 1472', was written as a reaction to the papal tithe 'imposta il 12 gennaio del medesimo 1471, per sostenere le spese nella guerra contro i Turchi' (Zaccaria 2010); Pratesi 1955, p. 78 dates the letter 1472, thus implying that Micheli used *a nativitate* dating; the year would be 1473 if we were to assume that Micheli adopted the Florentine *ab incarnatione* system (the papal curia, to which the text is addressed, at that time used both styles in its documents). Below are the first lines of the letter, which however contain some orthographic changes with respect to the edition in Pratesi 1955, pp. 78–79 (the passages taken from *Ad Alexandrum* are underlined here and in the following notes): *Non dedignetur, felicissime pontifex, sanctitas tua, quae tum in rebus privatis semper enituit, tum etiam publicis coram oculis nostris effulget,*

Apart from such cases of plagiarism, *Ad Alexandrum* was often overtly referred to as an authoritative source. One early example is found in the epistolary of Ceccarella Minutolo, a well-educated Neapolitan noblewoman who lived in the 15th century. At the beginning of a letter written to Eleanor of Aragon (1455–1493) prior to the latter's marriage to Hercules of Este in 1473, Ceccarella, perhaps wanting to give the reader a taste of her classical erudition, summarizes in a sentence the central theme of the oration, i.e. clemency being the sole virtue whose exercise likens men to God.⁵³

tuum fidelem servulum patienter audire infrascripta loquentem. Nihil habet, beatissime pater, vel fortuna maius quam ut possis, vel natura tua melius quam ut velis servare quam plures. Nulla enim de virtutibus tuis vel gloriosior, vel generosior, vel admirabilior clementia. Nec per aliud proprius ad deos accedere potes quam ut salutem conferas hominibus, vel dando si eguerint, vel parcendo si delinquerint, vel indulgendo si supplicaverint. Cum enim vincamur a diis in omni munere, sola clementia est que nobis deos reddit equales. Proinde gaude tam excellenti bono tibi ingenito, tum fortunae tue gloria, tum excellentia clementiae, quam ostendere debes ad omnes et maxime ad eos apud quos et educatus fuisti et scientie lumen accepisti atque huius celsitudinis et summi honoris principium sumpsisti. Expectant igitur mendici fratres minores pariter et secundi ordinis inopes sorores, ne per decimarum papalium statutam nuper solutionem extorqueatur panis quo sua cum pace in hac tempestate vesci cupiunt [...] ('Most fortunate Pontiff, let not your Holiness, always eminent in your private behaviour as well as glittering in public before our eyes, avoid patiently listening to the words of your humble, trusted servant that are written in the following [...] The poor Minorite friars, together with the indigent sisters of the second Order, await your decision in the hope that they might not, as a result of the papal tithe that has been imposed, be deprived of that bread on which they now would like to feed in peace').

⁵³ On Ceccarella Minutolo see Bigelli 2010. The epistle begins as follows in the edition by Morabito 1999, p. 35: 'Diffidiriame a mia semplece errata de non trovare luoco de venia, si non fosse l'altezza de tua magnanima natura, la quale de clementia supera li huomini et a li dei è quasi simile et eguale. Ricordone in antique carte de memorabile gesti avere lecto che Demosthene fè Alexandro più excelso de tutti huomini mortali in altre virtute, ma in acto de la clementia non solamente superò sua natura humana, ma se fè eguale anco a la natura divina' ('I am afraid I would not be able to obtain your forgiveness, if not for the highness of your nature, which as pertains to clemency surpasses all humans and is almost alike and equal to the gods. I remember having read in some ancient writings on memorable deeds that Demosthenes celebrated Alexander as the most distinguished among all mortals in other virtues, and that as to the practice of mercy not only did he surpass his human nature, but he also equalled divine nature'). Further evidence as to the diffusion of *Ad Alexandrum* at the court of Naples is perhaps provided by a letter written on August 8, 1457 by Arnau Fonolleda, chief secretary of King Alfonso the Magnanimous, to Theodore Gaza to announce that the latter had received a pension; here is the text according to the transcription provided by Ryder 1990, p. 326 n. 53 (based on MS Archivio de la Corona

An example showing how the text was re-used within a political context comes from the antiquarian and jurist Marco Attilio Alessi (Alexius, c. 1470–1546) from Arezzo. In June 1509 he drafted a short oration which was to be addressed to the authorities of Florence after the city's victory over rival Pisa. After expressing his own joy and that of the *populus Aretinus* for the surrender of that *ignobilis urbs*, Alexius congratulates the Florentines for having shown clemency towards the vanquished, and in doing so he resorts to a long quotation from *Ad Alexandrum*.⁵⁴

de Aragón 1917, fol. 174): 'Si geste re<s> litteris non commendentur facile perbreuiterque defunctis qui ea audire aut videre memoria in posteros sopitur, sola enim in historia hominum seruat memoriam, sola mortuos vivere, sola absentis semper adesse facit'. According to Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 168, this epistle contains a hidden reference to *Ad Alexandrum*; there are, in fact, textual similarities with a passage from the oration ('omnia tamen conficiet et obfuscabit vetustas, nisi litteris commendentur et memorie': see the full text in the Appendix), but I do not deem them conclusive.

⁵⁴ On Marco Attilio Regolo Alessi see Cherici 1989, pp. 8–9. Here is an extract from the oration, which ultimately was not delivered in public, but indeed published soon after completion (*Oratio, quae fuerat habenda Pisis a Florentia devictis in Senatu Florentino, quam legationem invidia factionis adversae Florentinorum respui, repente nihilominus a me edita XI. Junii 1509*) from the edition in Baluze 1764, pp. 500–01: *Quanta nos insperata laetitia affecerit longa et affectata victoria, illustrissime Vexillifer, domini potentissimi, caeterique amplissimi Patres Deus profecto cognovit, Pisanum haudquaquam ignobilem urbem exanguem fere, ac diutino bello confractam, tandem viribus Florentini populi perdomitam accepimus. Congratulamur itaque reip. vestrae, laetamur denique diem felicissimum obstitisse, prae gaudio subinde populus vester Arretinus lacrimas vix continere potuit [...] Pacem igitur ob eam rem universi dictionis vestrae viri procul dubio futuram autumant [...] A Florentino etiam olim populo, Pisis subactis, caeteram Hetruriam seditionibus atque factionibus sedatam omnibus. Quid igitur, inclita resp., uti Demosthenis verbis ad Macedonem Alexandrum utar, vel fortuna tua maius quam ut possis, vel natura tua melius quam ut uelis servare quam plurimos. Nulla enim de virtutibus tuis vel generosior misericordia, vel admirabilior clementia; nec per aliud propius Deo accedere potes, quam ut salutem conferas hominibus, vel dando si egerint, vel parcendo si deliquerint, vel indulgendo si supplicaverint. Cum enim vincamur a diis in omni munere, sola clementia est quae nobis Deo reddit aequales; proinde facinus magnum et memorabile est principes vincere, civitates opulentissimas subigere, hostes debellare; verum victis parcere, eosque tueri, benigne protegere, prorsus divinum est. Id quidem a vobis probe factum in Pisanos olim, atque hodie accepimus [...]. Alessi mentions the pacification of Tuscany (Hetruria) following a previous success of the Florentines over the Pisans (perhaps a reference to the Florentine conquest of Pisa in 1406 or to the famous Battle of Cascina in 1364) and congratulates the Florentines for having behaved in the same way towards the vanquished on that occasion.*

Ad Alexandrum can also be read as a *Fürstenspiegel*, and was in fact reused by authors of such texts. For instance, Pietro Antonio de Clapis (Finarenensis, i.e. from Finale Ligure, Italy; c. 1440–1512) extensively quoted the oration in his three *specula principum*: three quotations occur respectively in the *De dignitate principum*, dedicated to Frederick I the Victorious, Count Palatine, and in the *De principatus conservacione*, dedicated to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, while seven occur in the *De virtutum civitate*, dedicated to Johann I, Duke of Cleves.⁵⁵

The jurists Guillaume Benoît (1455–1516) and Gregorio López de Tovar (1496–1560) both quote *Ad Alexandrum* as an *exemplum* on the value of forbearance as a royal virtue,⁵⁶ and the same can be said of the Minorite friar and theologian Piotr Poznańczyk (Petrus Posnaniensis, 1575–c. 1655), who composed a homily for the first Sunday after Pentecost on some scriptural passages (Lc. 6, 36; Prov. 21, 3) concerning *clementia*.⁵⁷ It is worth noting

⁵⁵ See Probst 1989, p. 133 and *ad indicem*. For analogies between *Ad Alexandrum* and other *specula principum* and similar writings see below, n. 65.

⁵⁶ In his commentary (*Repetitio*) on the *decretalis* letter *Raynutius* (comprised in Gregory's IX compilation *De testamentis et ultimis voluntatibus*, Extra, 3, 26, 16; the *Repetitio* was first published in Lyons in 1523, then reprinted no less than eight times in the 16th century: see the full study by Arabeyre 2003), Benoît enumerates the virtues that a *Christianissimus rex* must possess (*pietas, clementia, misericordia, mansuetudo, humilitas, modestia, dilectio, benivolentia*), which are said to be the precious adornments of the royal majesty (*quae pretiosa sunt monilia regiae maiestatis*); then, referring in particular to *clementia*, Benoît inserts a literal quotation from *Ad Alexandrum* (the passage comprised between *Nihil habes* and *reddit aequales*: see Benedictus 1544, p. 24). As to Gregorio López, he inserted a reference to the oration in a gloss of his running commentary to Alfonso IX's code (López 1555). The gloss concerns the first words (*Merced, e justicia sonados cosas granadas que señaladamente deue auer todo ome en si, e mayormente los Reyes, etc.*) of *titulus XXIV* (*Como los juicios se pueden revocar*, i.e. 'Judgments can be reversed and reheard': transl. Parsons Scott 2001, p. 811) of the third *Partida*. In this gloss Gregorio introduces some *comparanda* for the claim that forbearance is a royal virtue from sacred and profane works, the first two being Prov. 20, 23 (*Misericordia, et veritas, custodiunt Regem et roboratur clementia thronus illius*) and 'Demosthenes ad Alexandrum', of which a long passage (from *Nulla de virtutibus tuis generosior misericordia* to *supplicaverint*) is quoted.

⁵⁷ In a passage from this homily (which is found in the *Institutiones sacrae litterales, morales, speculativae in dominicas totius anni*, dedicated to Ladislaus IV of Poland), Petrus invites his audience to respect the authority of kings, provided that the kings act according to the law and show forbearance: *Magna res est regem esse, sed pretiosior est rex misericors. Regibus nihil deesse videtur, nisi ut dicantur et sint filii Dei, et cuius sunt vicereges in terra, eius quoque filiatione gaudeant, ut etiam*

that after mentioning (Pseudo-)Demosthenes, Petrus quotes an extract from its main source, Cicero's *Pro Marcello*, but there is no way of knowing whether he discovered the plagiarism or instead drew both quotations from a *florilegium*.

Lastly, *Ad Alexandrum* proved a successful ingredient for eulogies to kings, noblemen and prelates. Such was the case with the bombastic treatise on the coat of arms of Cardinal Gregorio Petrocchini (1546–1612) written by the Augustinian friar Felice Milensio (c. 1568–1646), in which one finds an endless inventory of the cardinal's merits and virtues; when he comes to forbearance, Milensio inserts the topical quotation from our oration.⁵⁸

5. *The Reasons for the Orations' Success and the Credulity of Renaissance Readers*

The four orations possessed all the necessary ingredients for success: they were written in good Latin and represented a model of both elegant (unequivocally Ciceronian, in the case of the fourth one) and accessible prose; they provided models of rhetorical speech (of deliberative discourse in the case of the assembly orations, and of plea discourse in the case of *Ad Alexandrum*);

olim dixit Demosthenes ad Alexandrum: Nihil habes, rex, vel fortuna tua maius, quam ut possis, vel natura tua melius, quam ut velis servare quam plurimos. Nulla enim virtutum generosior misericordia, vel admirabilior clementia, nec per aliam propius ad Deum accedere potes, quam ut salutem conferas hominibus, vel dando si eguerint, vel parcendo si deliquerint, vel indulgendo si supplicaverint. Idem fatetur et Cicero, cum inquit, 'victoriam temperare fortissimi viri est, quod qui fecerit non modo cum summis viris eum comparo, sed simillimum Deo iudico' (Petrus Posnaniensis 1690, p. 11).

⁵⁸ On Milensio see Becker 2010. The work, entitled *Dell'impresa dell'elefante dell'illustrissimo signore [...] Cardinal Montelparo*, is a prolix compilation replete with digressions of every kind and with lengthy quotations from biblical passages, patristic and theological texts, as well as classical ones. The quotation from *Ad Alexandrum* is found in a passage from the second of the three dialogues composing this work. I quote from p. 74 of the first and only edition, printed in Naples in 1595): [Cardinal Petrocchini] *usò insieme i termini della misericordia; e volle alle volte, che più presto con la clemenza si disponesse l'emenda, che con la severità si parturisse la disperazione; havendo spesse fiate riletto quel filosofico consiglio, dato da Demostene ad Alessandro: Nihil habes, rex [...] deos reddit aequales*. ('Cardinal Petrocchini showed forbearance, and he preferred to stimulate repentance through the exercise of clemency rather than provoke desperation through the exercise of severity, for he had several times read that famous philosophical advice given by Demosthenes to Alexander [...]').

they were brief and therefore easy to memorize; they were attributed to some of the very best orators of Greek antiquity; they were ‘the first Renaissance texts to be issued purporting to contain speeches by Attic orators’, which may have granted them some sort of “first mover” advantage;⁵⁹ lastly, the fact that – at least in part of the manuscript tradition – they were presented as translations by such *auctoritates* as Bruni or Cicero may have favoured their diffusion (and perhaps also explain the failure on the part of their readers to question the authenticity of the original text).⁶⁰ Further reasons for the success of the orations could be linked to the fact that they concern the figure of one of the most famous and admired figures of the past, King Alexander,⁶¹ and that they were valuable from a moral perspective, especially in the case of *Ad Alexandrum*, which is centred on the virtue of *clementia*,⁶² and offers useful maxims on this subject.⁶³

In a word, these speeches fit all the requirements for being used as models of writing, and indeed they were often copied in miscellanies of orations and epistles which may very well have been conceived or used as reading primers for students. This might indicate that the orations also entered the classrooms; what is certain is that some of their readers and translators were teachers, such as Bartolomeo Della Fonte (who, as we have seen, suggested that his friend should learn the discourse by heart), Pedro de Rúa, and Celio Secondo Curione.⁶⁴ Moreover, the fact that many

⁵⁹ Tangri 2006, p. 561.

⁶⁰ On the centrality of Cicero and Demosthenes in humanist school curricula see e.g. Mack 2011, pp. 13–32 and *passim*; Tangri 2006, esp. pp. 571–74; Botley 2010, pp. 93–96.

⁶¹ The humanists’ interest in Alexander the Great is witnessed by the success of such works as Guarino Veronese’s Latin translation of Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander* (c. 1403–1408), of which Pade 2007 has listed more than 50 extant manuscript copies; and Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia’s Latin version of Plutarch’s *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander*, composed in the same years as Guarino’s (c. 1405–1409; on Iacopo, see Farzone 2004).

⁶² Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 167 also suggests that readers could see in this oration an example of the value of letters (exemplified by Demosthenes’ speech) opposed to the power of weapons (i.e. Alexander’s) and interpret it as a good example of the pre-eminence of *sapientia* over *fortitudo*.

⁶³ Such as that derived from Cicero, *Lig.* 37 and others alike, which were already appreciated in antiquity: see La Bua 2019, 218–282.

⁶⁴ See above, and nn. 42, 47 and 48.

famous humanists did not mention the four *oratiunculae* might signify that the latter were considered ‘school-friendly’ products, better suited to students or to simple people who wanted to read some Latin than to sophisticated intellectuals. The only exception seems to be that of Valla, who probably would not have given the orations the attention he did, had he not decided to criticize the way in which Antonio da Rho had misinterpreted their origin.

There may, however, have been other reasons for the wide reception of the orations outside school. As Sara Berti has pointed out, the broad interest for *Ad Alexandrum* in Quattrocento Italy might be due to the aptness of the theme of forbearance at the time of the instauration of the *società signorile*;⁶⁵ similarly, Francisco Rodríguez Risquete has suggested that it could have been read as an *epistola contra tyrannos* among Catalan intellectuals during a period in which the nobility and the urban authorities of that region were in conflict with the Hispanic royal dynasties.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Rodríguez Risquete affirmed that Torroella’s credulity provides a good example of what has been defined

⁶⁵ Berti 2001, p. 488. As Cappelli 2003, p. 9 notes (commenting on Giovanni Pontano, *De principe*, 6), ‘in questa fase di rafforzamento delle strutture di potere la dottrina di *clementia* assume un rilievo particolare, come contrappeso all’arbitrio indiscriminato del principe, indicazione al limite legale della sua azione’. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the same concepts which are formulated in *Ad Alexandrum* echoed in several humanist treatises on the virtues of the prince: for instance, the claim of forbearance being the virtue that equates man to god (cf. *Ad Alexandrum*: ‘sola clementia est quae nobis reddit aequales’ [= Claudian, *carmen* 8, 276–77]; ‘animum vincere [...] deo simillimus iudicandus’ [= Cicero, *Pro Marcello*, 8]) is found in Bartolomeo Platina’s *De principe* (composed c. 1470), ed. Ferraù 1979, p. 121: ‘clementes deo similes existimamus’ (‘those who are forbearers, we consider similar to god’); and in the above-mentioned paragraph of Pontano’s *De principe* (ed. Cappelli 2003, pp. 8–10): ‘clementiam in quo esse senserimus illum omnes admiramur, colimus, pro deo habemus’ (‘the man in whom we perceive forbearance, we all admire, we revere, we consider a god’: transl. Gaylard 2013, p. 49, to whom I owe both references). Among the ancient and medieval sources for these claims, and in general for humanist theories on the value of forbearance, Cappelli (here, p. 9) mentions Seneca’s *De clementia*, Cicero’s Caesarian orations, Claudian’s *carmen* 8 and John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*, but not *Ad Alexandrum*.

⁶⁶ According to Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 168 Torroella might have composed this translation as a gift to the young Carles de Viana, who at the time was in conflict with the king of Navarra Joan II of Aragon (intent on leaving the throne to his son Ferran), and was also interested in Bruni’s translations.

‘the drama of Spanish pre-humanism’.⁶⁷ Torroella, however, was indeed in good company. As mentioned earlier, I have not come across any comments concerning issues of authenticity in the manuscripts and prints of the orations examined thus far. If we deem the information found in Kristeller’s inventory and in manuscript catalogues to be valid, the same could hold for the vast majority of the other copies of the text. Copyists and readers seem not to have questioned the attribution at all, accepting it uncritically. Many of them might not have detected the Ciceronian matrix of most sections of *Ad Alexandrum*; only a handful among the most learned ones did – as in the case of Alardus, who however tells us that it was by chance that he read the spurious orations and Cicero’s *Pro Ligario* one after the other. Apparently, Valla’s *monitum* went unheard for quite some time.

To do justice to Renaissance readers of these texts, we must bear in mind that many of them might have realized that they were dealing with a falsification, but an innocuous one, as was the case with other similar forgeries which proved successful at the time.⁶⁸ Most people, instead of being concerned with issues of authority, did appreciate similar texts as such, and were willing to accept the risk that they were reading nothing more than rhetorical exercises. Moreover, it is plausible that many intellectuals who quoted the fourth oration might have had access only to portions of it, i.e. by means of *florilegia* and commonplace books, which could represent a partial justification for their credulity.

In the conclusions of a recent study devoted to the diffusion of Greek epistolography in 15th-century Italy, Paul Botley remarks that ‘of all the available Greek letters, the fifteenth century preferred [...] the forgeries and fictions attached to some of the great names of antiquity’. Botley introduces several possible explanations for their positive reception, ‘the most obvious’ being that ‘during the fifteenth century the history of the ancient

⁶⁷ Rodríguez Risquete 2011, p. 167.

⁶⁸ It is worth quoting Sabbadini 1915, p. 222: ‘Cotali falsificazioni erano innocue e corrispondevano alle tendenze del secolo XIV e XV; erano inoltre ingegnue, perché non occorreva molto sforzo a riconoscerne la falsità; il che non impediva che da lettori e contemporanei e posteriori venissero ritenute genuine’.

world was not mapped precisely enough for the historical anomalies of these letters to be apparent';⁶⁹ yet another reason for the interest in these fakes might have been the fact that

most readers simply did not care very deeply about their authenticity. Zambecari's forgeries of Libanius were valued as a handbook for students who needed to compose letters in conventional modes. The letters of Diogenes were full of memorable scenes and pithy maxims consistent with a Christian contempt of the world; the letters of Plato indicated the relationship between the philosophical and active life; and those of Phalaris illustrated a recognizably human response to the possibilities and difficulties of absolute power. These qualities did not depend on the identities of their authors.⁷⁰

I believe that these observations wholly apply to our case as well. In the eyes of many Renaissance readers, a well fabricated forgery appeared to be as valuable as a genuine piece of Classical literature.

Appendix: Latin text of the Four Orations

In this Appendix, I have reproduced the text of the *Supplementum* to Curtius Rufus based on Smits' edition together with a facing edition of the humanistic version of the four orations, based on three incunables. Two of them, K¹ (ISTC nr. is00426500) and K² (ISTC nr. is00409000) hand down a redaction which is nearer to the original *excerptum* (i.e. the orations as they were extrapolated from the *Supplementum*); the third, R (ISTC nr. id00139500), pertains to a later and interpolated redaction (referred to as *Alex^b* in Silvano 2012). In the text of the fourth speech, *Ad Alexandrum*, I have underlined the passages derived verbatim from Cicero. While I have reproduced the text of the *Supplementum* as it is found in Smits' edition, in the text of the humanistic redaction of the four orations I have regularized spelling (in the case of diphthongs, proper names, etc.) and punctuation.

⁶⁹ Botley 2012, p. 202. On the difficulties experienced by early-Quattrocento humanists in understanding the works by the ancient orators 'without some knowledge of Greek history and legal procedure' see Hankins 2002, p. 192.

⁷⁰ Botley 2012, p. 203.

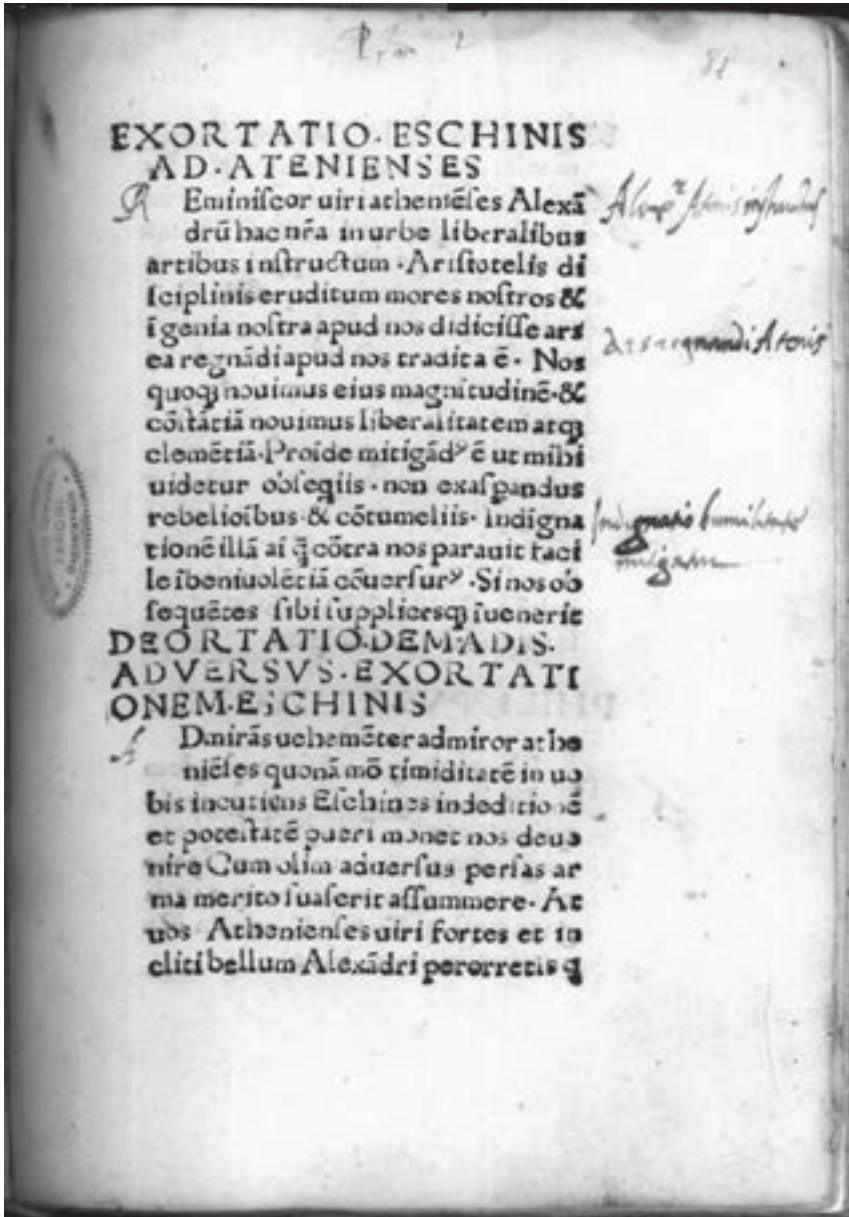


FIG. 1

The first oration and the beginning of the second in a rare incunabulum edition (Rome 1475 = *ISTC* nr. id00139500), now Biblioteca comunale di Bagnacavallo 'G. Taroni', Fondo Storico, inv. n. 25291/3.

[Permission from the Library of Bagnacavallo]

<p>[Anonimi <i>Supplementum Curtii Rufi</i>]</p> <p>[ed. Smits 1987, p. 110] <i>Miseranda res hec Atheniensibus visa est. Ergo portas refugiis profugorum contra regis interdictum aperuere. Quam rem ita gravissime tulit Alexander, ut denuo bellum deprecantibus non aliter dixerit se bellum remissurum, nisi prius duces et oratores, quibus tociens rebellaverant, sibi darentur</i> [cf. Iust. XI 4].</p> <p><i>Que res postquam Athenienses in curiam contraxit, primum interrogatus est Heschines orator quid sibi uideretur. 'Reminiscor', inquit, 'Athenienses, Alexandrum in hac nostra urbe liberalibus artibus eruditum et Aristotilis disciplinis institutum. Mores nostros et ingenia apud nos didicit. Ars regnandi ei tradita est. Nos quoque novimus animi ipsius magnitudinem et constantiam, novimus liberalitatem et clementiam. Proinde mitigandus est, ut mihi videtur, obsequiis, non exasperandus rebellionibus aut contumeliis. Illam indignationem animi quam in nos armavit, in benivolentiam facile versurus est, si nos obsequentes sibi supplicesque invenerit'</i> [cf. Iul. Val. epit. II 2 (p. 39.6–18 Zacher)].</p>	<p><i>Tres orationes habitae in senatu Atheniensi de recipiendo Alexandro Magno vel armis repellendo</i></p> <p><i>Oratio Aeschinis</i></p> <p>[1] <i>Reminiscor, Athenienses, Alexandrum hac nostra in urbe liberalibus artibus eruditum et Aristotilis disciplinis institutum, mores nostros et ingenia apud nos didicisse.</i> [2] <i>Ars regnandi ei tradita est.</i> [3] <i>Nos quoque novimus animi ipsius magnitudinem et constantiam, novimus liberalitatem et clementiam.</i> [4] <i>Proinde mitigandus est, ut mihi videtur, obsequiis, non exasperandus rebellionibus aut contumeliis.</i> [5] <i>Illam indignationem animi quam in nos armavit in benivolentiam facile versurus est, si nos obsequentes sibi supplicesque invenerit.</i>⁷¹</p>
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⁷¹ Tit. Oratio Heschinis K¹K²] Exortatio Eschinis ad Athenienses R; 1 Athenienses] viri Athenienses R; eruditum] instructum R; et (1)] om. R; Aristotilis] Aristotelis R; institutum] eruditum R; ingenia] ingenia nostra R; 2 Ars regnandi ei] ars ea regnandi apud nos R; 3 animi ipsius] eius R; et (2)] atque R; 4 aut] et R; 5 Illam indignationem] indignationem illam R; in nos armavit] contra nos paravit R; in benivolentiam facile versurus est] facile in benivolentiam conversurus R.

Postquam Heschinis finem dicendi fecit, iussus est dicere Demades, unus de numero oratorum non in-nobilis. 'Admirans', inquit, 'vehementer admiror, viri Athenienses, quonammodo timiditates nobis incutiens Heschines in dedicionem et potestatem pueri monet nos devenire. Quid a bellorum studiis, quibus semper incliti fuimus suadet nos abstinere, cum olim adversus Persas arma nec immerito suaserit assumere? An vos, Athenienses, viri fortes et invicti, bellum Alexandri horrebitis qui Megares fudistis, vicistis Chorchinthios, Lacedaemonios superastis, qui tot milia Xerxis regis a finibus vestris virtute vestra vincendo propulistis, quibus mare non sufficebat ad navigandum, portus ad applicandum, terra ad gressum, flumina ad potandum, qui montes in planiciem ducebant, valles equabant, maria pontibus sternebant, quos tota Graecia vix capiebat, quorum tela ac iacula vix aer recipiebat? Rem ridiculam si huic puero inconsulto obviare non audemus, qui tot preliis, tot victoriis polletis. Profecto subtili quodam consilio duces et oratores nostros sibi dari postulat, ut spoliata urbem suis custodibus consiliis et viribus vacuam facilius diripiat' [cf. Iul. Val. epit. II 2 (pp. 39.19–40.14 Zacher)].

Oratio Demadis

[1] *Admirans vehementer admiror, viri Athenienses, quonammodo timiditates nobis incutiens Aeschines in deditionem et potestatem pueri monet nos devenire.* [2] *Quid a bellorum studiis quibus semper incliti fuimus suadet nos abstinere, cum olim adversus Persas arma nec immerito suaserit assumere?* [3] *An vos, Athenienses, viri fortes et invicti, bellum Alexandri horrebitis qui Megaras fugastis, vicistis Corinthos, Lacedaemonios superastis, qui tot milia Xerxem regem a finibus vestris virtute vestra vincendo propulistis;* [4] *quibus mare non sufficebat ad navigandum, portus ad applicandum, terra ad gressum, flumina ad potandum;* [5] *qui montes in planitiem ducebant, valles aequabant, maria pontibus sternebant; quos tota Graecia vix capiebat;* [6] *quorum tela et iacula vix aer recipiebat?* [7] *Rem ridiculam puto si huic puero inconsulto obviare non audetis, qui tot proeliis tot victoriis polletis.* [8] *Profecto subtili quodam consilio duces et oratores nostros sibi dari postulat ut spoliata urbem suis custodibus consiliis et viribus vacuam facilius diripiat.*⁷²

⁷² *Tit. Oratio Demadis*] *Deortatio Demadis adversus exortationem Eschines* R; 1 *vir Atheniensis*] *Atheniensis* R; *timiditates scripsi*] *timiditatis* K¹K²: *timiditatem* R; *nobis*] *in vobis* R; 2 *quid* – *abstinere* om. R; *nec immerito*] *merito* R; 3 *An*] *At* R; *invicti*] *incliti* R; *horrebitis*] *perorretis* R; *Megaras fugastis, vicistis Corinthios*] *Megaras subdidistis themnios* [sic] R; *Xerxen regem scripsi: Xerses regis* K¹K²; *regis Xerxis* R; *virtute vestra*] *virtute propria* R; 4 *gressum*] *ingressum* R; 5 *ducebant*] *deducebant* R; *sternebant*] *externebant* R; *tota Graecia vix*] *vix tota*

[ed. Smits 1987, p. 111] *Moverat plurimum Atheniensium iuvenes Demadis oratio. Sed Demostenis optatum expectabatur consilium. In corde cuius et labiis sapientie et eloquentie deo sibi sedes elegerant. Qui surgens manuque populo tumultuanti silentium indicens ait: 'Apud vos in questione verti videor videre utrum sumenda sint arma vobis adversus Alexandrum, an eius condicionibus et mandatis sit obsequendum. Super quod Heschinis sententia satis est laudanda, sed nec Demadis, si res exigeret, esset improbanda. Nam vobis vires non desunt, si necesse esset, ad bellandum, sed nec praesentis pacis commodum, quod est finis belli, videtur negligendum. Monet nos Demades exemplo victoriarum antiquarum arma sumere: sed exhibeat, queso, nobis tales duces quales priscis temporibus constat nos habuisse. Non adest Conon qui spoliis Persarum insignis urbem nostram ditavit; non adest Mulciades qui Darium cum sexcentis milibus equitum in campis Marathoniis victum turpiter fugavit. Non adest Themistocles qui Xersen decies centenis milibus militum elatum quatuor milium et ducentarum navium numero terribilem exigua latentem navicula fugere coegit. Nunc aliud tempus est, et aliud pro tempore ineundum est consilium. Videte*

Oratio Demosthenis

[1] *Apud vos in quaestione verti videor videre utrum sumenda sint arma nobis adversus Alexandrum, an eius condicionibus et mandatis sit obsequendum.* [2] *Super quo Aeschinis sententia satis laudanda, sed ne Demadis si res exigeret improbanda.* [3] *Nam nobis vires non desunt si necesse esset ad bellandum, sed nec praesentis pacis commodum, quod est finis belli videtur negligendum.* [4] *Monet nos Demades exemplo victoriarum antiquarum arma sumere: sed exhibeat, quaeso, nobis tales duces quales priscis temporibus constat nos habuisse.* [5] *Non adest Conon, qui spoliis Persarum insignis urbem nostram dicavit;* [6] *non adest Miltiades, qui Darium cum sexcentis milibus equitum in campis Marathoniis victum turpiter fugavit;* [7] *non adest Themistocles, qui Xersen decies centenis milibus militum elatum quatuor milium et ducentarum navium numero terribilem exigua latentem navicula fugere coegit.* [8] *Nunc aliud tempus est, aliud pro tempore ineundum est consi-*

greca R; 6 tela et iacula] iacula et tela R; 7 puto] om. K²R; qui tot proeliis tot victoriis polletis] qui tot victoriis totque preliis pollemus R; custodibus consiliis et viribus] custodibus suis viribus et consiliis R; diripiat] post hoc epistulam Philippi ad Aristotelem (= Gell. IX 3, 5) add. R.

ne, dum libertatem querimus, servitutem admittamus. Videte ne, si quosdam dare noluerimus, universos tradamus. Videte ne, si partem servaverimus, totum perdamus. Ceterum qui vult in bello felicem consequi victoriam, necesse est bellum praeparet, militem instruat. Hostis tumidus et insolens in portis est cum exercitu non timido nec imbecilli, sed robusto et audaci. Nos insperatos nec satis paratos inveniet. Proinde non provocemus eum nec revocemus eum a Persis. Sinamus eum abire forsan non reversurum, ne forte impetum et iram, que iam dudum concepit in Persas, cogatur in nos parturire. Nec durum nobis videatur parere Alexandro, qui servivimus Philippo, ne forte similes existamus Thebanis'. [cf. Iul. Val. epit. II 3–4 (pp. 40.15–41.8 Zacher)]. Hoc Demostene prosequente mittunt consensu omnium Alexandro coronam auream per eundem Demostenem cum mandatis supplicibus [cf. Iul. Val. epit. II 5 (p. 41.9–11 Zacher)]. Verum postquam rex cognovit Demoste-

lium. [9] Videte ne, dum libertatem querimus, servitutem admittamus; videte ne, si quosdam dare noluerimus, universos tradamus; videte ne, si partem servaverimus, totum perdamus. [10] Ceterum qui vult in bello felicem consequi victoriam, necesse est bellum praeparet, militem instruat. [11] Hostis tumidus et insolens in portis est cum exercitu non timido nec imbecilli, sed robusto et audaci; nos imparatos nec satis peritos inveniet. [12] Proinde non provocemus eum nec revocemus a Persis: [13] sinamus eum abire forsan non reuersurum, ne forte impetum et iram quam iamdudum concepit in Persas cogatur in nos parturire. [14] Nec dicamus nolle parere Alexandro qui servivimus Philippo, ne forte similes existamus Thebanis.⁷³

⁷³ Tit. Oratio Demosthenis] Oratio Demostenis ad prefata R; 1 vos] om. R; sumenda sint arma nobis adversus Alexandrum] sint adversus Alexandrum arma sumenda R; condicionibus] dictionibus R; 2 satis laudanda] satis sic laudanda K²: laudanda est R; Demadis] Demadis quidem R; 3 Nam nobis vires non desunt si necesse esset] Nec enim vobis enses desunt si necesse fuerit R; 4 victoriarum antiquarum] antiquarum victoriarum R; quaeso, nobis] nobis queso R; 5 Conon] Zenon R; nos- tram] om. R; 7 terribilem] terribili R; 8 Nunc aliud] Aliud nunc R; est consilium] consilium est; 9 dare noluerimus] volumus R; 10 vult in bello] in bello vult R; bellum praeparet, militem instruat] exercitum praeparet instituat militem R; 11 est] om. R; non timido nec imbecilli] non pavidio et imbecilli R; imparatos nec satis peritos K²: imperatos nec satis peritos K¹: imperitos nec satis paratos R; 13 ne forte impetum et iram quam iamdudum concepit] ne furorem et iram diu conceptam R; in Persas R] inparsas K¹K²; 14 nolle] non velle R; ne forte similes existamus K²] ne forte similes existimamus K¹: ne similes simus R.

nem adesse, quamquam sibi fuerat suspectus, pensata tamen auctoritate viri debitum honore ei exhibuit. Ille vero salutato rege de more postquam dicendi sibi copia fuit, intentis Macedonibus sic est exorsus: Nihil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua maius quam ut possis, vel natura tua melius quam ut velis servare quam plurimos [Cic. Lig. 38]. Nulla est enim de virtutibus tuis, quamvis multae sint et magne, vel graciosior misericordia vel admirabilior clementia [Cic. Lig. 37]. Nec ad Iovem accedere propius potes, quam ut salutem conferas hominibus, vel dando [Cic. Lig. 38] si egerint, vel parcendo si deliquerint, vel indulgendo si supplicaverint. Cum enim vincamur a diis in omni munere, sola clementia est que nobis deos reddit equales [cf. Claud. *carm.* 8, 276–77]. Proinde gaude, rex, tam excellenti bono tibi ingnato, et frueri cum fortuna tue gloria clementie [Cic. Marcell. 19], ad eos maxime apud quos et educatus fuisti et eruditus [cf. Cic. *inv.* 2, 29] scientie lumen accepisti et huius celsitudinis tue principium et formam sumpsisti. Nemo siquidem tam iniustus rerum erit existimator qui dubitet quenam fuerit Atheniensium in recipiendis Thebanis adversum [ed. Smits 1987, p. 112] te delinquendi voluntas, cum statim cognito serenitatis tue nubilo supplices ad te venimus. Is enim quem delicti penitet, profecto declarat se maluisse non peccare quam penitere [Cic. Marcell. 15]. Verum et si

Oratio Demosthenis ad Alexandrum

[1] Nihil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua maius quam ut possis, vel natura tua melius quam ut velis servare quam plurimos. [2] Nulla est enim de virtutibus tuis, quamvis multae sint et magne, vel generosior misericordia vel admirabilior clementia; [3] nec accedere ad deos propius potes, quam ut salutem conferas hominibus, vel dando si egerint vel parcendo si deliquerint, vel indulgendo si supplicaverint. [4] Cum enim vincamur a diis in omni munere, sola clementia est quae nobis deos reddit aequales. [5] Proinde gaude, rex, tam excellenti bono tibi ingnato et frueri cum fortuna tuae gloria clementiae, quam ostendere debes ad omnes et ad eos maxime apud quos et educatus fuisti et eruditus scientiae lumen accepisti et huius celsitudinis tuae principium et formam sumpsisti. [6] Nemo siquidem tam iniustus rerum erit existimator qui dubitet quenam fuerit Atheniensium in recipiendis Thebanis adversus te delinquendi voluntas, cum statim cognito serenitatis tuae nubilo supplices ad te venimus. [7] Is enim quem delicti paenitet profecto declarat se maluisse non peccare quam penitere. [8] Verum etsi aliqua teneamur culpa, expertes tamen facinoris sumus, Thebanos tam miseros quam

aliqua teneamur culpa, expertes tamen facinoris sumus [Cic. Marcell. 13], Thebanos tam miseros quam miserabiles urbe nostra recepimus, non ut hostes tuos, sed ut tue tante victoriae reliquias et quasi de nave confracta dilapsos conservavimus. Victis a te portas aperuimus [cf. Iust. XI 4, 9], adversum te tamem arma non sumpsimus. Humanitate potius iudicabis nos deliquisse quam scelere, non odio tui, sed errore, non pravitate aliqua, sed fatua forsitan pietate. Adde quod animus tuus hiis angustiiis quas natura dedit mortalibus ad vivendum, numquam potuerit esse contentus. Semper enim immortalitatis amore flagravit. Nec vita tua ducenda est velut ea quae corpore solum continetur et spiritu, sed ut divina [Cic. Marcell. 27–28]. Domuisti Greciam, fregisti Lacedaemoniam, Thebas diruisti, Persas postmodum debellaturus et Indos. Sed hec omnia sunt hominis, quoniam et naturam et condicionem, ut fieri possint, habent; verum animum vincere, sibi imperare, iracundiam cohibere, temperare victis, indulgere supplicantibus quisquis hec facit non est hic summis viris comparandus, sed deo simillimus iudicandus [Cic. Marcell. 8]. Ne credas igitur iracundiae, quae est inimica consilio, ne credas victoriae, quae de natura sui insolens est et superba [Cic. Marcell. 9], sed vince te ipsum, qui ceteros et gloria vincis et virtute. Quis est enim vel nobilitate vel probitate vel optimarum artium studio vel

miserabiles urbe nostra recepimus non ut hostes tuos, sed ut tuae tantae victoriae reliquias et quasi de nave confracta dilapsos servavimus. [9] Victis a te portas aperuimus, adversus te tamen arma non sumpsimus. [10] Humanitate potius iudicabis nos deliquisse quam scelere, non odio tui, sed errore, non pravitate aliqua, sed fatua forsitan pietate. [11] Adde quod animus tuus his angustiiis quas natura dedit mortalibus ad vivendum, numquam potuit esse contentus, semper enim immortalitatis amore flagravit. [12] Nec vita tua dicenda est velut ea quae corpore solum continetur et spiritu, sed ut divina. [13] Domuisti Graeciam, fregisti Lacedaemoniam, Thebas diruisti, Persas postmodum debellaturus et Indos. [14] Sed haec omnia sunt hominis, quoniam et naturam et condicionem, ut fieri possint, habent; [15] verum animum vincere, sibi imperare, iracundiam cohibere, temperare victis, indulgere supplicantibus: [16] quisquis haec facit non est hic summis viris comparandus, sed deo simillimus iudicandus. [17] Ne credas igitur iracundiae, quae est inimica consilio, ne credas victoriae, quae de natura sui insolens est et superba, sed vince te ipsum, qui caeteros et gloria vincis et virtute. [18] Quis est enim vel nobilitate vel probitate vel optimarum artium studio vel clementia seu aliquo alio laudis titulo te praestantior? [19] Quis clarissimorum regum magnitudine bellorum, proeliorum numero,

clementia seu aliquo alio laudis titulo te praestantior? [Cic. Marcell. 4] Quis clarissimorum regum magnitudine bellorum, preliorum numero, varietate victoriarum, celeritate conficiendi, mentis amplitudine, pertinacia in rebelles, clementia in subditos, liberalitate in omnes tibi potest conferri? [Cic. Marcell. 5] Gloria siquidem tua iam tanta est, licet maior sit futura, quod trophaeis et monumentis tuis allatura finem non sit etas [Cic. Marcell. 11], nec ullius flumen est ingenii quod non dicam exornare, sed enarrare res tuas gestas possit ad unguem [Cic. Marcell. 4]. Omnia tamen conficiet et obfuscabit vetustas [Cic. Marcell. 11] nisi litteris commendentur et memorie. Verum inter tot milia hominum qui vel fidelius laudes tuas narrabunt, vel melius describent Atheniensibus, apud quos sunt domestici philosophiae fontes totum orbem omnimodis scientie donis irrigantes? Celebrabuntur igitur, rex, tue laudes tam re quam voce mirabiles et iocunde non solum nostris, sed per nos omnium pene gentium litteris et linguis, nec ulla umquam etas de tua gloria conticescet [Cic. Marcell. 9], nec oblivionis caliginem vita tua formidabit, sed eam omnium seculorum alet memoria, eam ipsa semper tuebitur eternitas et obstupescunt posteri innumerabiles victorias tuas et triumphos audientes et legentes [Cic. Marcell. 28]. Que ut ita sint, ignosce, rogamus, urbi nostre, immo tue, ne totius orbis lucem extinguas,

varietate victoriarum, celeritate conficiendi, mentis amplitudine, pertinacia in rebelles, clementia in subditos, liberalitate in omnes tibi potest conferri? [20] Gloria siquidem tua iam tanta est, licet maior sit futura, quod trophaeis et monumentis tuis allatura finem non sit aetas; [21] nec ullius flumen est ingenii quod non dicam ornare, sed enarrare res tuas gestas possit ad unguem. [22] Omnia tamen conficiet et obfuscabit vetustas, nisi litteris commendentur et memoriae. [23] Verum inter tot milia hominum qui vel fidelius laudes tuas narrabunt vel melius describent Atheniensibus, apud quos sunt domestici philosophiae fontes totum orbem omnimodis scientiae donis irrigantes? [24] Celebrabuntur igitur, rex, tue laudes tam re quam voce mirabiles et iocunde non solum nostris, sed per nos omnium pene gentium litteris et linguis, nec ulla umquam etas de tua gloria conticescet, nec oblivionis caliginem vita tua formidabit, [25] sed eam omnium saeculorum alet memoria, eam ipsa semper tuebitur aeternitas et obstupescunt posteri innumerabiles victorias tuas et triumphos audientes et intelligentes. [26] Quae ut ita sint, ignosce, rogamus, urbi nostrae, immo tuae, ne totius orbis lumen extinguas, quae sicut sol fulgore luminis inter caetera preradiat sidera, sic inter reliquas orbis urbes et eloquentia praeeminet et sapientia, immo omni genere philosophiae praeexcellens, tamquam fons ex se rivulos ad

que sicut sol fulgore luminis inter cetera preradiat sidera, sic inter reliquas orbis urbes et eloquentia preminet et sapientia, immo omni genere phylosophie precellens, tamquam fons ex se rivulos ad omnes mundi partes omnigenam scientiam emittit. Eius igitur im-

omnes mundi partes omnigenam scientiam emittit. [27] Eius igitur impunitas clementiae tuae laus erit et gloria. Pace tua loquar, rex Alexander, nullam de laudibus tuis amplio rem fore quam eam quam hodierno die, cum hoc feceris, consecuturus es.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Tit. Oratio Demosthenis ad Alexandrum] Clarissimi oratoris Demostenis oratio ad regem Alexandrum per Leonardum Aretinum e greco in latinum traducta R; 1 habet] est R; 2 est] om. R; quamvis multae sint et magnae] om. R; 3 nec R mss. pott.] nec enim K¹K²; accedere ad deos proprius potes] nec propter aliud deo propius accedere potes R; conferas hominibus] hominibus conferas R; 4 a diis] a diis in mortalibus R; quae nobis deos] que nos deo fere R; 5 rex] om. R; et frui cum fortuna tuae gloria clementiae scripsi cum mss. pott.] et frui cum fortuna tuae gratia clementie K¹K²; frui tuum fortune tuae gloria, tum excellenti clementia R; quam ostendere debes ad omnes et R mss. pott.] om. K¹K²; ad eos maxime] maxime ad eos R; et eruditus] om. R; 6 tam iniustus rerum erit existimator scripsi cum mss. pott.] tam iniustus rerum erit extimator K¹K²; erit tam iustus rerum extimator R; in recipiendis Thebanis aduersus te] aduersus te in recipiendis Thebanis R; venimus] veniamus R; 7 delicti] peccati R; 8 etsi aliqua teneamur culpa] si aliqua culpa teneamur R; tam] om. K¹; urbe nostra] nostra urbe R; tuae tantae victoriae] tante tue victoriae R; nave fracta dilapsos] navi fracta lapsos R; 9 victis a te] vix apte R; aduersus te tamen] sed tamen contra te R; 10 nos R mss. pott.] om. K¹K²; tui] om. R; 11 his angustis quas natura dedit mortalibus ad viuendum] istis angustis terminis quos natura mortalibus dedit R; contentus] confectus R; amore] gloria R; 12 vita tua] tua vita R; 13 fregisti Lacedaemoniam, Thebas diruisti] vicisti Lacedemoniam, fregisti Thebas R; 14 sed haec omnia] hec enim sunt R; et naturam] que naturam R; possint] possit R; 15 sibi imperare, iracundiam cohibere, temperare victis] iracundiam cohibere sibi imperare victoriam temperare victis R; 16 quisquis haec facit non est hic summis viris comparandus] qui hec fecerit non est cum summis viris equandus R; 17 ne credas igitur] ne ergo credas R; caeteros et] ceteros R; 18 quis est enim] quis enim R; artium] rerum R; seu aliquo alio laudis titulo] vel quouis alio laudationis titulo R; 19 tibi potest] potest tibi R; 20 iam tanta est, licet maior sit futura] tanta est, licet futura sit maior R; trophaeis et monumentis tuis scripsi cum mss. pott.] tropheis et monimentis tuis K¹K²; tropheis tuis et monumentis R; 21 flumen R mss. pott.] lumen K¹K²; quod] om. R; enarrare res tuas gestas possit] narrare posset res gestas tuas R; 22 omnia tamen conficiet] tamen conficiet omnia R; obfuscabit] obscurabit K¹; commendentur] tradentur R; 23 narrabunt] enarrabunt R; domestici philosophiae fontes] domestici philosophi; omnimodis scientie donis] omnimodis scientiis R; 24 igitur] ergo R; re] te R; pene] poete R; et] atque R; nec ulla umquam aetas de tua gloria] hec nunquam aetas de gloria tua R; caliginem vita tua] caligine tua vita R; 25 alet memoria, eam ipsa semper tuebitur aeternitas] ea semper tua tuebitur eternitas R; victorias] laudes R; 26 que ut ita sint] tu igitur, ut ista sint R; ne] et ne R; orbis] urbis K¹; extinguas] extingue R; fulgore luminis inter caetera preradiat sidera] infra praeradiat sydera R; sic inter reliquas] ita inter ceteras R; urbes et] urbes R; rivulos] rivos R; omnigenam scientiam] dignam sententiam R; 27 clementiae tuae] tue clementie R; consecuturus] consecutus R.

<p><i>punitas clementie tue laus erit et gloria</i> [Cic. <i>Lig.</i> 10]. <i>Pace tua loquar, rex Alexander, nullam de laudibus tuis ampliorem fore quam eam quam hodierno die, cum hoc feceris, consecuturus es</i> [Cic. <i>Marcell.</i> 4].</p> <p>[ed. Smits 1987, p. 113] <i>Postquam Demostenes finem imposuit dictis, faventium murmur exortum est eratque omnium vox parcendum esse Athenis. Amici quoque regis hoc ipsum deprecantur. Tunc rex facto silentio 'et ego', inquit, 'Athenas mea sententia absolvo, ita tamen quod sedicionis auctores exilio dampnentur. Tu vero, Demostenes, Atheniensibus perfer ut eadem fide redeant mecum in gratiam qua ipse cum eis revertor'. His dictis recipit coronam et sic dimittit Demostenem. [...]</i></p>	
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Abbreviations

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Abstract

The present study focuses on the Renaissance reception of a collection of four short orations in Latin purported to be translations from the Greek. These four discourses were indeed extrapolated from the medieval Supplement to Curtius Rufus (written around 1100 AD) by an anonymous scholar around the very beginning of the 15th century and started circulating as self-standing pieces of Attic oratory. This paper investigates the reasons of the popularity these speeches enjoyed up to the Early Modern period, and tries to determine whether and up to which extent humanists and Renaissance readers were unable to detect this forgery.

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THE FATE OF THE *PRIDIE*: TRACING THE DECLINE OF MANUSCRIPT AUTHORITY

1. *Introducing the Pridie*

In the 9th century a manuscript was created in France in which a number of speeches by the Roman Republican orator Marcus Tullius Cicero were transcribed, speeches collected together to form what became known as the *post reditum* corpus, united as they were by their delivery in the years after Cicero returned from exile.¹ Included among the speeches in this manuscript was an anomaly; a speech which was out of sync with its companions due to the weaknesses and inconsistencies which marked it out early in its existence as a forgery. This speech was the *Oratio ad populum et equites antequam iret in exilium*, also commonly referred to as the *Pridie quam in exilium iret*, which, as indicated by its title, claimed to preserve a speech Cicero had delivered the day before he withdrew into exile. The *Pridie* proves to be a fascinating case in the history of Ciceronian forgery, for it is not the question of its veracity which provoked debate, as most scholars who engaged with it were willing to acknowledge its spurious nature. Instead, it is the survival in the Ciceronian tradition of a work broadly recognised as an impostor which proves so significant; the *Pridie* continued to be printed in the company of genuine Ciceronian

¹ Paris, B. N., MS lat. 7794. The speeches it contained were as follows: *Post Reditum ad Quirites* (57 BC); *Post Reditum in Senatu* (57 BC); *De Domo sua ad Pontifices* (57 BC); *Pro Sestio* (56 BC); *In Vatinius* (56 BC); *De Haruspicum Responsis* (56 BC); *Pro Caelio* (56 BC); *De Prouinciis Consularibus* (56 BC); *Pro Balbo* (56 BC).

works until well into the 19th century. This contradiction in the fate of the *Pridie* demands elucidation, as understanding the reasons for the perpetuation of this text will prove revealing regarding the question of authority and credibility in the field of classical scholarship in the age of the early printed book.

First, it is necessary to introduce the work in question, and establish precisely why its status was so easily questioned. The *Pridie* was supposed to have been delivered at a point in Cicero's career wrought with conflict and turmoil.² In 63 BC Cicero had ascended to the pinnacle of political achievement in the Roman Republic by being elected to the consulship, overcoming the absence of background and connections which marked him as a *homo novus* with the aid of an oratorical skill which has preserved his fame for over two millennia. The year of Cicero's consulship was marked, however, by controversy, in the form of the Catilinarian conspiracy. The portrait of this conspiracy Cicero left to posterity through the *Catilinarians* recruits all his rhetorical power to permit no doubt that he had rescued Rome from a disastrous fate. In Cicero's telling, Catiline became an unutterably wicked villain, determined to see Rome and all her citizens razed to the ground by fire and violence, and only Cicero protected the city from this horrifying fate. The true extent of the threat posed by Catiline to Rome remains a point of debate in scholarship, as do Cicero's claims regarding his triumph.³ Nevertheless, it is the conclusion of these events which are significant to the *Pridie*. Catiline had fled the city, but his remaining associates were executed on the orders of the Senate, without trial, on the basis that their actions had already rendered them enemies of the Republic and stripped them of the protection of its laws. Cicero's prominent involvement in these executions returned to haunt him five years later, when the tribune Publius Clodius, whose enmity Cicero had provoked by testifying against him in the *Bona Dea*

² For this period in Cicero's life see Rawson 1975, pp. 106–21. The main sources for Cicero's consulship are Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* and Cicero's own speeches and letters, particularly the *Catilinarians* and the *post reditum* speeches.

³ Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* diminished Cicero's role and achievement; on the conflict in this tradition see Seager 1973, pp. 240–48, and Waters 1970, pp. 195–215.

trial, orchestrated a legal manoeuvre designed to ensure Cicero's exile: Clodius passed a bill condemning any man who had executed Roman citizens without trial.⁴ Clodius' efforts succeeded, and Cicero was forced to withdraw into exile for eight months, before the efforts of his supporters saw him recalled to Rome.

The *Pridie* supposedly represented a final attempt by Cicero to counter the legal attacks directed against him by Clodius. Faced with the bill promulgated by Clodius, which clearly represented a direct attack on his position, Cicero is depicted in the *Pridie* attempting to rally his audience to his defence. Allies were in short supply, however, as Cicero's tendency towards recalling the glory of his victory over Catiline, together with his criticism of the conduct of the Senate, had left him with few friends willing to speak on his behalf. As a result, Cicero took the decision to withdraw into exile, but not before addressing the people and the *Equites* once more in an attempt to garner sufficient support to prevent this fate, or at least so the *Pridie* suggests. For in this speech Cicero attempts to galvanise sufficient support for his case to prevent the necessity of flight into exile, beseeching his audience not to allow Clodius' machinations against him to succeed. Herein lies the first major flaw which exposes the *Pridie* as a forgery: it is essentially an historical impossibility.⁵ Not only is the speech not mentioned in any historical record, damning evidence when Cicero's works are so well recorded, but it also directly contradicts the historical evidence. The bill to which Cicero appeared to be responding in the *Pridie* in fact did not come to his attention until after he had departed into exile and reached Vibo, as was recorded in his letters:

Miseriae nostrae potius velim quam inconstantiae tribuas quod a Vibone quo te arcessebamur subito discessimus. adlata est enim nobis rogatio de pernicie mea, in qua quod correctum esse audieramus erat eius modi ut mihi ultra quadringenta milia liceret esse, illuc pervenire non liceret. statim iter Brundisium versus contuli ante diem rogationis, ne et Sicca, apud quem eram, periret et quod Melitae esse non licebat. nunc tu propera ut nos

⁴ For Cicero's account of the Bona Dea trial, see Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, ed. Shackleton Bailey, I.16.

⁵ Clift 1945, pp. 91–92.

*consequare, si modo recipiemur. adhuc invitamur benigne, sed quod superest timemus. me, mi Pomponi, valde paenitet vivere, qua in re apud me tu plurimum valuisti.*⁶

The amendment Cicero referred to here was a second bill Clodius promulgated directly on Cicero's flight into exile which was directed against Cicero specifically, confiscating his goods. Cicero had already departed Rome before the *privilegium* was appended to the bill, indeed before the original bill had been passed. The plausibility of a speech responding directly to this bill is therefore severely tested.

The content of the speech presents further problems. The general proposition Cicero is making is that the people of Rome owe him their support, that a debt is due to him for their continued safety and the safety of their city. This is made clear from the outset, as Cicero opens the speech with the statement 'si quando inimicorum impetum propulsare ac propellere cupistis, defendite nunc universi unum, qui ne omnes concideretis, adorque flammae conflagraretis, mei capitis periculo non dubitavi providere'.⁷ Cicero repeatedly asserts throughout the speech the claim that a debt of service is owed to him by the people of Rome, in return for the efforts he expended protecting their lives and property from the dangerous threat posed by Catiline. While this claim to a debt which must be repaid is the core feature of the speech, Cicero does broaden his argument to encompass less personal perspectives on the situation. Rome's safety is threatened, he

⁶ Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, ed. Shackleton Bailey, III.4: 'I hope you will put it down to the misery I am in rather than to fickleness of purpose that I have suddenly left Vibo after I have been asking you to come there. The bill for my destruction has come into my hands, and the correction about which I had heard was to the effect that I am allowed to live at a distance of not less than 400 miles, but am not allowed to get there. I at once changed my course for Brundisium before the bill should become law for fear that my host Sicca might be ruined too and because I cannot stay in Malta. Do make haste to catch me up, that is if I can get anyone to take me in. So far people invite me kindly enough, but I am afraid of what is to follow. For my part, my dear Pomponius, I am heartily sorry to be alive. In that decision you weighed with me most'.

⁷ Cicero, *Orationes tres*, ed. M. Tigurinus, p. 5: 'if ever you wanted to ward off and drive away the attack of enemies, you should now defend one for the whole, I who, so that you were not all destroyed, and consumed in flames, did not hesitate to put myself in danger'.

declares, by those who would see the principles which underpin the Republic overturned, principally liberty. If such despotic actions as those of Clodius are permitted to occur, then the freedom of the people will be increasingly infringed upon, until they find the Republic cast into servitude. Cicero further introduces almost philosophical reflections intended to direct his audience to appropriate action, dwelling on the necessity of punishing the unworthy, and rewarding the worthy, so that virtue might prosper in the Republic. Cicero, of course, must be counted among the worthy, and Clodius the unworthy. At no point in the speech does Cicero attempt to defend or justify his conduct. Instead, the entirety of the speech is directed towards exaggerating the dire threat posed by the actions of Clodius, and emphasising his own worth to the Republic. The speech employs these tactics as a means of exhorting the audience to action, as action in defence of Cicero is the speech's ultimate goal.

The purpose which galvanises this speech, the desire for action on his behalf, places it in direct contradiction to the myth concerning his retreat into exile carefully constructed by Cicero on his return. The *post reditum* speeches, those very speeches with which the *Pridie* was transmitted, communicated a particular version of the events preceding Cicero's exile.⁸ In those speeches Cicero affirms that he chose to withdraw into exile as he perceived it to be the best course of action for the preservation of the Republic. He repeatedly argues that, had he stayed, the city would have been forced to shed blood on his behalf; perceiving this, his deep love of the Republic compelled him to withdraw. Central to this account was the claim that had he chosen to stay and fight, he would have had sufficient support to do so, citing the twenty thousand youths who shadowed him around the city in a show of support, and the demonstration made by the equestrian order when they donned mourning clothes.⁹ Those very bodies Cicero is seen begging for aid in the *Pridie* are portrayed as desperate to offer such aid to his cause as was within their power. But Cicero was not willing to inflict such violence on the city he loved, and

⁸ Cicero's efforts to construct this myth are examined by May 1988, pp. 89–98, Kaster 2006, pp. 1–14, and Claassen 1992, pp. 19–47.

⁹ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, ed. R. A. Kaster, 27.

therefore suppressed his own interests in favour of the city's: 'ego tantis periculis propositis cum, si victus essem, interitus rei publicae, si vicissem, infinita dimicatio pararetur, committerem ut idem perditor rei publicae nominarer, qui servator fuisset?'.¹⁰ This version of the events leading up to his exile was vital to the restoration of his personal *auctoritas*. The last image that Cicero wanted to perpetuate on his return from exile was that of him begging the people and the *Equites* to support him, presumably by force, only to have them fail to do so. The *Pridie* therefore presents a notable contradiction to the carefully constructed propaganda perpetuated by Cicero following his return which suffused the speeches with which it was transmitted.

It is finally the style of the speech which has produced further doubts concerning its veracity. The speech was ordered around a series of dialectical arguments and rhetorical constructs, giving it the style of a practised work. The writer of the *Pridie* organises his entire case in a series of logically constructed rational arguments using syllogisms, deduction, arguments from what is contrary, and so on.¹¹ For example, the case is made that thanks should be given to those deserving of it; Cicero is deserving of thanks, due to his efforts against Catiline; hence it can be concluded that thanks should be rendered to Cicero in the form of aid against Catiline.¹² Similarly, the writer argues that it is agreed that the worthy should be rewarded, and the unworthy punished; Cicero has always lived honestly, and acted well, and should therefore not be punished or attacked; once more it may be concluded that it is the responsibility of the people to defend him against those who seek to punish him unfairly.¹³ These arguments are then deployed in the service of the writer's claims concerning the broader threat to the Republic of failing to help him, deducing from the arguments already made that the obvious injustice of exiling Cicero would prepare the way for

¹⁰ Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, ed. N. H. Watts, 89: 'and, in face of such grave peril, and the prospect of the downfall of the state should I fail, and an endless series of struggles should I prevail, was I, who had once been the saviour of the republic, now to gain for myself the name of its destroyer?'

¹¹ On these rhetorical structures see Rawson 1985, pp. 132–42.

¹² Cicero, *Orationes tres*, ed. M. Tigurinus, p. 5.

¹³ Cicero, *Orationes tres*, ed. M. Tigurinus, pp. 6–7.

further despotic behaviour. The whole structure of the *Pridie* is organised around these arguments.

The rigid adherence to principles of dialectic and logical argument in this speech betray the absence of Ciceronian eloquence. While Cicero undoubtedly advocated the use of such rhetorical techniques, his own efforts were never so inflexible.¹⁴ It is this, together with more general flaws identified in the Latin, which led numerous commentators to judge the *Pridie* to be spurious, for it simply does not merit identification as Ciceronian rhetoric. Sicco Polenton acknowledged as much when summarising the argument of the speech, declaring that ‘sunt tamen qui hanc orationem Tullianam eloquentiam non sapere suspicentur’.¹⁵ Speculation concerning the validity of the work on this basis was evident from its earliest stages of transmission, as two 14th century manuscripts annotated in Padua attest.¹⁶ The first of these noted, in terms very similar to those used by Polenton, that ‘sunt tamen qui hanc orationem a Cicerone non emanasse quod Tullianam eloquentiam non sapiat suspicantur’.¹⁷ The second is more forthright in its conclusions, stating simply that ‘mentitur qui dicit huius orationis auctorem fuisse Ciceronis’.¹⁸ The style of the speech, and its apparent failure to display what might be called ‘Tullian eloquence’, were therefore among the earliest features to raise the suspicions of scholars concerning its status as a genuine speech by Cicero.

The spurious nature of the *Pridie* cannot be doubted, but the question does remain of its possible origins. The nature of the deceit, consisting as it did of a speech imagined for an historical situation, indicates that its origins can be located in the kind of grammatical exercise in the imperial period which spawned so many spurious works assigned to the ancients.¹⁹ The style of the

¹⁴ Cicero, *Orator*, 11 and *De Oratore*, II.157–60.

¹⁵ Cicero, *Orationes tres*, ed. M. Tigurinus, p. 1: ‘there are however those who suspect that the speech does not resemble Tullian eloquence’.

¹⁶ Reynolds 1983, pp. 57–58.

¹⁷ Vatican, Pal. lat. MS 1478, fol. 135: ‘there are those who suspect that this speech does not emanate from Cicero because it does not resemble Tullian eloquence’.

¹⁸ Vatican, Pal. lat. MS 1476, fol. 70: ‘he is a liar who says of Cicero that he was the author of this speech’.

¹⁹ Metzger 1972, p. 4; Bagnani 1960, p. 232; Gudeman 1894, p. 147.

work seems to confirm this, as its careful construction from dialectical arguments certainly reads like a rhetorical exercise. This conclusion concerning its origins was reached by several scholars across the period of its transmission. Johannes Albertus Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Latina*, and Henry Dodwell, using the speech as a point of comparison in his *Dissertationes in Irenaeum*, reached the same conclusion when speculating on the origins of the *Pridie*: ‘conficta est vel a vetere quodam Sophista, vel certe ab aliquo, qui commentis suis nonnulla vere Ciceroniana inseruit’.²⁰ This makes the *Pridie* an example of pseudepigrapha rather than forgery, a grammatical or rhetorical exercise of the imperial period which mistakenly entered the manuscript tradition at some point prior to the 9th century.

The circumstances of the composition of the *Pridie* are not the subject of this inquiry; it was clearly spurious, and recognised as such by numerous scholars from an early stage, so identifying its precise origins will not necessarily shed any light on its importance. Instead it is the fact that a work so clearly spurious, and broadly accepted as such, maintained an extensive presence in the Ciceronian tradition for several centuries that is of importance. The relationship between this work and Ciceronian scholarship will prove immensely instructive regarding the means by which scholarly authority was constructed. It is the features of that relationship which form the subject of this inquiry.

2. *The Pridie in the Ciceronian Print Tradition*

As a work deserving of scholarly attention in its own right, the *Pridie* was the focus of a burst of activity in the second half of the 16th century. A series of print editions of the speech emanated from Paris in the 1540s and 1550s, and from Cologne later in the century, in which it was presented most often with two other speeches, usually from the *post reditum* corpus.²¹ Among these

²⁰ Fabricius 1712, pp. 137–38: ‘it was fabricated either by some ancient Sophist, or certainly by someone, who actually some Ciceroniana with his comments’; cf. Dodwell 1689, p. 53.

²¹ *Ciceronis oratio antequam iret in exilium*. Parisiis, ex off. Prigantii Calvarini 1541; *Pro Archia poeta oratio*, *Pro Marco Fonteio, antequam iret in exilium*. Parisiis,

editions were efforts which indicated that the *Pridie* was judged to be worthy of extensive scholarly attention. Johannes Sturm, a German scholar who exerted a great influence on education, in particular expended a great deal of effort on the speech, composing a summary and discussion of it to precede his edition of the work, a discussion which was reproduced several times across the 1540s in Paris.²² Sturm's summary fails to acknowledge the queries concerning the speech's authenticity, instead providing some details of its historical context, and a quite damning portrayal of Cicero's conduct prior to and during the speech. Sturm's *argumentum* was accompanied in many of these editions by a similar discussion of the work composed by Sicco Polenton, which provides a somewhat sympathetic account of the historical context of the *Pridie*, balancing a brief acknowledgment of the doubts concerning its authorship with a reflection that the rhetorical approach it displayed was appropriate to its supposed period of composition. Others granted the *Pridie* even greater attentions, composing commentaries to the work to elucidate further detail, including Wigand Spanheim and Albert Lenicaerus.²³ The most extensive

ex officina Robert Estienne 1539; *Orationes duae, pro q. Roscio comoedo: et, ante quam iret in exilium: nunc in usum studiosae juventutis separatim editae. Oratio ad populum et equites Romanos, antequam iret in exilium oratio, antequam iret in exilium.* Köln, Arnold Mylius 1592; *Orationes: pro A. Licinio Archia poeta, ad populum et equites Romanos, ante quam iret in exilium.* Lübeck, apud Lorenz Albrecht, 1599.

²² *Ciceronis oratio ad populum et equites antequam iret in exilium cum argumentis singulis Io. Sturmii.* Parisiis, Franc. Gryphius 1538; *Ciceronis orationes tres ante exilium, post reditum in senatu et altera ad Quirites cum argumentis singulis Io. Sturmii.* Parisiis, impr. apud Sim. Colinaeum, impensis vero Nic. Billequo 1541; Köln, excudebat Johann I Gymnich 1543; Parisiis, Vascosan 1544; Parisiis, Io. Roigny 1547; Parisiis, Tho. Richard 1549; Parisiis, Prig. Calvarinus 1550; *Orationes tres: pro rege Deiotaro, ad populum et equites Romanos, antequam iret in exilium, ad quirites post reditum, cum argumentis Bartholomaei latomi, et aliorum.* Köln, excudebat Petrus Horst 1585. On Johannes Sturm (1507–1589) see Arnold 2009 and Sandys 1908, pp. 267–68.

²³ *Wigandi Spanhemii commentarius analyticus et erotematicus, in orationem Ciceron. quam habuit ad populum et equites Romanos, antequam iret in exilium: necessarium logices et rhetorices usum iunioribus ad oculum monstrans.* Leipzig, Abraham Lamberg, 1591; *Explicatio orationis M. T. Ciceronis ad equites Romanos, antequam iret in exilium, tradita in schola Luneburgensi ab Alberto Lenicero.* Wittenberg, excudebat Johann Schwertel 1572. Wigand Spanheim (d. 1620) was better known as the grandfather to Ezechiel Spanheim, than for his own scholarly efforts, which focussed on education; cf. Danneberg 2003, pp. 49–50.

commentary was produced by Otto Werdmüller (who also wrote as Myliandrius Tigurinus), who in his notes provided a detailed survey of the rhetorical and dialectical techniques in evidence throughout the speech.²⁴

This period of printing activity represents a tendency to transmit the *Pridie* in the company of genuine Ciceronian speeches, and grant it the same consideration as any Ciceronian work by composing an *argumentum* and explanatory notes to accompany it. However, this was but a brief fashion for reproducing the speech with such care; editions featuring the *Pridie* so prominently all but disappeared at the beginning of the 17th century. Far more significant to its transmission in print were the editions of Cicero's complete works, which continued to be produced periodically from the beginning of the printed age onwards. It was in these editions that the *Pridie* survived until the modern age of scholarship. The nature of textual transmission in the age of the early printed book, particularly in the sphere of these complete editions, contributed to the sustained presence of the *Pridie* in the Ciceronian print tradition. In the pre-Lachmann era of textual criticism the transmission of texts was dominated by the *textus receptus*; each editor responded to the dominant text in the tradition, emending it with the materials to hand, whether that be manuscripts or his own innate genius, rather than collating evidence to reproduce the text anew.²⁵ This created a unilinear process of transmission, allowing texts to proceed essentially intact from one generation to the next. It is in this context that the *Pridie* was transmitted: prominent editors of Cicero would take the decision to maintain the *Pridie*'s pres-

Albert Lenicaerus was a quite prolific editor of Cicero's speeches in the later 16th century, about whose life little is known.

²⁴ *Ciceronis orationes tres: ante exilium ad populum et equites cum notis Myliandri Tigurni; post reditum in senatu cum scholiis Iac. Bugelii. Item altera ad Quirites cum schol. Barth. Latomi. Additis Xichonis Polentoni et Io. Sturmii argumentis.* Parisiis, ex off. Mich. Vascosani. 1540; *Ciceronis oratio ad populum et equites Rom. antequam iret in exilium, una cum Oth. Vuerdmülleri commentario nunc demum recognito.* Tiguri, Christoph. Froschauer 1551.

²⁵ On methods of textual criticism in the pre-Lachmann era see Kenney 1974, pp. 3–20, 25–26; Kelemen 2009, pp. 83–95; Timpanaro 2005, pp. 58–74; Bloch 1965, pp. 119–20. See Tanselle 1983, p. 49 on the transmission of the New Testament according to this principle.

ence amongst Cicero's works, thereby integrating it into the *textus receptus* which would then be transmitted and dispersed, ensuring its survival.

This was a pattern of transmission in evidence from the earliest printed texts. The *editio princeps*, the very first printed edition of any given text, would accrue an unjustified level of authority. In spite of the fact that these editions tended to reproduce the most readily available, as opposed to the highest quality, texts in a bid to produce the editions as quickly as possible, the very nature of print ensured that the text produced was granted influence due to its permanency and the ease with which it could be disseminated.²⁶ As a result, when the *editio princeps* of the complete works of Cicero included the *Pridie*, it made a vital contribution to the survival of this speech into the printed age. The first printed edition of the complete works of Cicero was produced in Milan in 1498 by Alexander Minutianus.²⁷ Minutianus exerted no great critical efforts when constructing the edition, essentially collecting together the existing *editiones principes* of individual Ciceronian works. The absence of critical thinking is demonstrated by the lack of any sign of awareness that the *Pridie* might be a problematic work. It is situated in the volume containing Cicero's speeches, in its proper chronological place between the *Pro Archia* and the *post reditum* speeches, and without any comment concerning its authenticity. Minutianus' text provided the *textus receptus* for those editions produced by the houses of Ascensius and Cratander at the beginning of the 16th century, and with it the *Pridie* was transmitted.²⁸ The *Pridie* had been

²⁶ Kenney 1974, pp. 3–20; Reynolds 1983, p. xlii; Reynolds and Wilson 1991, p. 208; Timpanaro 2005, p. 45.

²⁷ Cicero, *Opera*, ed. A. Minutianus. On Alexander Minutianus, or Alessandro Minuziano (c. 1450–1522), and his edition see Pellegrini 2010, Hunt 1998, pp. 226–30 and Orellius 1836.

²⁸ *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera*. Parisiis, in aedibus Ascensianis 1511. On Jodocus Badius Ascensius, or Josse Badius of Asse (1462–1535), and his edition see White 2013, and Orellius 1836, p. 197. *M. Tullii Ciceronis omnia quae in hunc usque diem extare putantur opera, in tres secta Tomos, et ad variorum, vetustissimorumque codicum fidem diligentissime recognita ac ultra omnes hactenus visas aeditiones locis aliquot lovupletata*. Ex incltya Germaniae Basilea, per And. Cratandram 1528. On Andreas Cratander, or Andreas Hartmann (1490–1540), see Meier 1966 and Benzing 1957.

made part of the Ciceronian tradition from the beginning of the printed era.

The next major innovation in transmitting the Ciceronian text in print was the new recension produced by Petrus Victorius between 1534 and 1537.²⁹ Aware of the flaws of the *textus receptus*, Victorius employed his access to the Medici library to emend the dominant text in circulation. These corrections did not extend to the elimination of the *Pridie* from the Ciceronian tradition. Andreas Naugerius, who had responsibility for the volume containing Cicero's speeches, chose to include the *Pridie*, although with some obvious hesitations regarding its veracity. First, he removed it from its chronological position within the Ciceronian speeches, and relegated it to the back of the volume to keep company with those other questionable works, the Sallustian *Invectives*. In addition, he preceded the speech with a comment expressing his own doubt about the work, identifying it as 'oratio Ciceronis, si credendum est tam inepte Ciceronem locutum'.³⁰ Victorius' edition proved immensely influential, described by Janus Gruterus in 1618 as 'omnium profecto ante hanc nostram et castissima et castigatissima'.³¹ It dominated the editorial tradition for several generations, as editors including Robertus Stephanus, Joachim Camerarius, and Paulus Manutius, reproduced Victorius' text in their own editions.³² The inclusion of the *Pridie* in this authoritative text assisted its continued survival.

²⁹ Cicero, *Opera*, ed. P. Victorius. On Petrus Victorius, or Piero Vettori (1499–1585), see Gall 2013 and Sandys 1908, p. 135; on his edition of Cicero see Fabricius 1712, p. 142, Orellius 1836, p. 199, and Pfeiffer 1976, pp. 135–36.

³⁰ Cicero, *Opera*, ed. P. Victorius: 'a speech of Cicero, if it can be believed that Cicero spoke so ineptly'.

³¹ Cicero, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Gruterus, *Praefatio*: 'clearly the most unpoluted and most correct of any edition before ours'.

³² *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera ed. Rob. Stephani*. Parisiis 1538–1539. On Robertus Stephanus, or Robert Estienne (1503–1559), see Sier 2013, Boudou 2009 and Sandys 1908, pp. 173–77. *Opera Marci Tullii Ciceronis quotquot ab interitu vindicari summorum virorum industria potuerunt cum veterum exemplarium, tum recentiorum collatione restituta*. Basileae, ex off. Hervagiana 1540. On Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg (1500–1574) see Deufert 2013, Kössling 2003, Sandys 1908, pp. 266–67 and Pfeiffer 1976, p. 139. *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera*. Venetiis, apud Aldi filios 1540–1546. On Paulus Manutius, or Paolo Manuzio (1512–1574), see Sterza 2007 and Sandys 1908, pp. 100–01.

A rival tradition to that dominated by Victorius' text appeared in 1566 with the edition of Cicero's works produced by Dionysius Lambinus.³³ This edition proved somewhat controversial due to the bold emendations Lambinus made to the received text; in fact, in many reprints of the text his emendations were removed and reproduced only in the accompanying notes. Gruterus again provided a succinct response to the edition, declaring that 'Lambiniana sane nimium sibi indulserat'.³⁴ Nevertheless, the Lambinian text proved influential as a base text for numerous subsequent editions, confirming its status as an alternative tradition to that of Victorius' text.³⁵ While Lambinus might have represented a separate tradition from Victorius, and a different approach to the task of textual criticism, he did follow Victorius' example in the case of the *Pridie*. Lambinus too signified his doubts concerning the text by relegating it to the rear of the volume containing Cicero's speeches. Those doubts were made more explicit by an insertion in the contents page, between the *Pro Archia* and the *post reditum* speeches, declaring that 'Antè quàm iret in exilium, quia non est Ciceronis, in fine tomi'. Lambinus' rejection of the text is reiterated when the speech itself is introduced with the statement that 'plane non est Ciceronis'.³⁶ Explicit as Lambinus' declarations of its spuriousness were, his decision to nevertheless include the *Pridie* safeguarded its survival in the Ciceronian tradition for a little longer.

³³ Cicero, *Opera omnis*, ed. D. Lambinus. On Dionysius Lambinus, or Denis Lambin (1520–1572), see Tröger 2013, Sandys 1908, pp. 188–91, Reynolds and Wilson 1991, p. 157, and Pfeiffer 1976, p. 112.

³⁴ Cicero, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Gruterus, *Praefatio*: 'the Lambinian edition clearly had indulged itself too much'.

³⁵ *Opera a Ioan. Michaelē Bruto emendata*. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium, 1570; *Opera omnia quae exstant, a Dionysio Lambino Monstroliensis ... Fulvii Ursini Romani Notae*. Genevae, in officina Sanctandreae, 1584; *Ciceronis Opera Omnia. Praeter hactenus vulgatam Dion. Lambini editionem, accesserunt D. Gothofredi I. C. Notae*. Lugduni, sumptibus Sibyllae a Porta 1588; *Ciceronis opera omnia variis Dion. Lambini et aliorum doctissimorum quorumque viro- rum Lectionibus opera Alex. Scoti, Scoti, ad marginem illustrata et in sectiones Apparatus Latinae locutionis respondentia*. Lugduni, sumptibus Io. Pillehotte 1588.

³⁶ Cicero, *Opera omnis*, ed. D. Lambinus: 'Antè quàm iret in exilium, because it is not of Cicero, at the end of the volume ... clearly it is not of Cicero'.

In the 17th century the transmission of the Ciceronian text was dominated by the edition produced by Janus Gruterus in 1618 in Hamburg.³⁷ This edition printed a text emended with both manuscript evidence and the work of Janus Gulielmius, who had died before being able to publish his extensive emendations. The tradition initiated by Victorius was maintained, and the *Pridie* was taken out of its appropriate chronological situation and placed at the end of the volume of speeches. Gruterus went so far as to omit the speech from the contents page to further diminish its status. He provided an even more blunt assessment of the *Pridie* in his edition of Cicero's works, preceding the speech with the comment that 'inelegans, inconcinnaque est, insulsa atque inepta, denique vix latina'.³⁸ Gruterus' edition was reproduced across the 17th century and into the eighteenth, perpetuating the *Pridie* further into the Ciceronian print tradition.³⁹ The *Pridie* was only finally abandoned after the 19th century edition of Cicero's works produced by Johannes Caspar Orellius.

It is from this continued reproduction of the *Pridie* within the Ciceronian print tradition that the fundamental query emanates: why should a text whose authenticity was increasingly doubted, whose literary quality was openly disparaged, and whose place in the tradition was evidently in doubt, continue to be produced in print, and in the company of genuine Ciceronian works? It is in determining the reasons for the *Pridie*'s longevity, and the gradual decline in its status, that the question of authority becomes relevant.

³⁷ Cicero, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Gruterus. On Janus Gruterus, or Jan Gruter (1560–1627), see Hartmann 2013, Fuchs 1966 and Sandys 1908, pp. 359–62. As Janus Gulielmius (1555–1584) from Lübeck died before being able to publish his emendations, Gruterus undertook to publish them with his own corrections; see Sandys 1908, pp. 272–73.

³⁸ Cicero, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Gruterus: 'it is inelegant and ungraceful, insipid and inept, finally it is hardly Latin'.

³⁹ *Ciceronis opera cum optimis exemplaribus accurate collata*. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana 1642; Ibid. Amstelaedami, Blaeu 1659; *Ciceronis opera omnia cum Gruteri et selectis variorum notis et indicibus locupletissimis accurante Cornelio Schrevelio*. Amstelodami, apud I. et D. Elzevirios et Lugduni Batavorum apud Hackium 1661; *Ciceronis opera quae exstant omnia ex Mss. Codd. emendata studio atque industria Iani Gulielmii et Iani Gruteri, additis eorum notis integris nunc denuo recognita ab Iacobos Gronovio*. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Petrum van der Aa 1692.

3. *The Pridie's Manuscript Tradition*

In a little known work of the controversial radical intellectual John Toland a possible explanation for the endurance of the *Pridie* appears.⁴⁰ In 1712, Toland wrote *Cicero Illustratus*, in which he outlined his proposal for a new complete edition of Cicero's works for the man he hoped would fund this endeavour, Prince Eugene of Savoy. While the edition itself never came into being, Toland explained in some detail in this proposal his plans for the edition. This included a summary of how he intended to handle the spurious works of Cicero, including the *Pridie*.⁴¹ Maintaining the tradition established by his predecessors in the editing of Cicero, Toland planned to include the *Pridie*, while at the same time making explicit his belief that the speech was not genuinely Ciceronian. It is the justification Toland offers for this decision that proves enlightening, stating that 'cùm in manuscriptis enim codicibus locum invenerint, cur idem in impressis privilegium non obtineant, haud perspicio'.⁴² This statement by Toland reflects a key feature of the *Pridie*, a feature which greatly influenced its reputation within Ciceronian scholarship, for unlike so many forgeries and spurious works, it had a very strong pedigree in terms of its transmission in the manuscripts.

The ninth-century manuscript which transmitted the *Pridie*, denoted by the letter *P*, was one of the earliest and most important extant manuscripts in the Ciceronian tradition.⁴³ It was in this manuscript that the *post reditum* speeches were transmitted, with the *Pridie* among their number, as it contained the *Post reditum in senatu* and *ad populum*, the *De Domo sua*, the *Pro Sestio*, the *In Vatinius*, the *De Provinciis Consularibus*, the *De Haruspicum Responsis*, the *Pro Balbo* and the *Pro Caelio*, all delivered in 57

⁴⁰ On John Toland (1670–1722) see Champion 2003.

⁴¹ Toland 1712, pp. 32–35.

⁴² Toland 1712, pp. 32–33: 'since they have found a place in the manuscript codices, why they should not obtain the same prerogative in imprints, I do not see at all'.

⁴³ Paris, B. N., MS lat. 7794; cf. Clift 1945, p. 91 and Maslowski 1980, pp. 404–05. Reynolds 1983, pp. 57–58, provides the most detailed account of these manuscripts, on which I draw here.

and 56 BC. This manuscript first appeared in the historical record when it was presented to the Collège de Montagu in Paris by Joachim Perion, a monk who had travelled from Cormery, who lived between 1497 and 1559, providing a frame within which to date this gift. The timing of the donation to the Collège in Paris provides a possible explanation for the spate of Parisian publications of the *Pridie* in the 1540s. The manuscript itself has been securely identified as written in a Tours hand, at some point in or near the 9th century. From *P* one of the main lines of descent for the *post reditum* speeches developed. In the 12th century it provided the basis for the manuscript Berne 136, which in turn was copied to produce the *Florilegium Angelicum*, together with Paris lat. 14749, written in the 14th century for Nicholas de Clamanges. In this way, *P* became the source for the manuscript tradition for the *post reditum* speeches, and for the *Pridie*, in France.

While *P* was a particularly influential manuscript, it was not the only one to prove significant to the transmission of the *post reditum* speeches, being one among four manuscripts believed to have been transcribed from the archetype. A second line of descent emanated from two manuscripts transcribed from a copy produced in Liège, the 11th-century manuscript *G* and the 12th-century manuscript *E*, in which the *Pridie* was once more collected with the *post reditum* speeches.⁴⁴ The fourth manuscript to be based on the archetype is the 12th-century manuscript *H*, and forms a third line of transmission for the *Pridie* and the *post reditum* speeches.⁴⁵ From both the second and third line of descent numerous copies were produced, further extending the manuscript tradition of the *Pridie*. The archetype from which all these manuscripts were descended has been identified as an insular parent. It is evident that the *Pridie* was contained within this archetype. This is not a consideration which would have influenced scholars in the pre-Lachmann era, when the idea of an archetype was underdeveloped. However, the transmission of the *Pridie* in a group of manuscripts of good reputation, through which a group of well-attested speeches by Cicero were

⁴⁴ Brussels, B. R., MS lat. 5345 (*G*) and Berlin, D. S., MS lat. fol. 252 (*E*).

⁴⁵ London, B. L., MS Harley 4927 (*H*).

preserved and disseminated, certainly ensured the *Pridie* greater consideration than it might otherwise have received.

The survival of the speech in the Ciceronian editorial tradition demonstrates this. The production of printed editions was a field in which authority was a vital commodity; in the face of competition in the market, editors needed to be able to make viable claims for the particular merit of their contributions.⁴⁶ One of the primary means of constructing such authority for editions, particularly of ancient texts, was by being able to claim that access to manuscripts of notable quality had contributed to its formation. This is amply apparent in the editions of Cicero's works. The edition produced by Petrus Victorius demonstrates well the level of faith an editor was willing to place in the manuscripts.⁴⁷ Victorius' influential recension made extensive use of the manuscript evidence made available to him in the Medici library, a resource which he repeatedly invokes to demonstrate the quality of his edition. He displayed to the reader that his approach was to use readings attested by the manuscript evidence as far as possible, stating in his preface that 'quare multis priscis exemplaribus comparatis id opus, magnum sane et arduum, adgressus sum, et accuratissime potui absolvi atque ad exitum perduxi'.⁴⁸ Victorius argued that his reliance on the manuscripts created a more accurate text, demonstrating the association between the manuscript evidence and authority.

Victorius was not alone in this; a further example of this perception of manuscript evidence is the edition produced by Janus Gruterus, who in fact used Victorius' recension as his base text, judging the more recent recension by Dionysius Lambinus to be too flawed by his taste for bold conjectures. Gruterus was so convinced of the validity of manuscripts that he intended to create a text formed almost entirely from their evidence. This included publishing for the first time the emendations made

⁴⁶ Feld 1978, p. 84.

⁴⁷ Grafton 1975, pp. 162–68 identifies Victorius' commitment to the manuscripts as an inspiration for Scaliger; cf. Grafton 1991, p. 28, Pfeiffer 1976, pp. 135–36, Orellius 1836, p. 199.

⁴⁸ Cicero, *Opera*, ed. P. Victorius, Aij-Aij; 'whereby I undertook this work, having collated many ancient examples, clearly a great and arduous task, and I have finished it as accurately as I could'.

by Janus Gulielmus; Gulielmus conducted research among the libraries of Europe, collating as many manuscripts as he could examine.⁴⁹ Gruterus reproduced Gulielmus' emendations in his notes, supplementing them with his own corrections to the text based on the manuscripts held in the Palatine library in Heidelberg, which was at that time in his charge. Gruterus also made the case for the accuracy of the manuscript evidence, constructing authority for his edition from his extensive use of that evidence: 'optimum Romanae linguae auctorem mille amplius locis illustravi, correxi, auxi'.⁵⁰ In the context of such an elevation of the manuscripts, such editors' reasons for maintaining the *Pridie*, with its strong manuscript tradition, become clearer.

Manuscript evidence was brought to the fore by editors in order to establish authority and credibility for the text, and by extension the edition as a whole. It was only when the association between manuscripts and authority changed, that the status of the *Pridie* really began to decline.

4. *The Problem of Manuscript Authority*

Increasingly, the assumption of accuracy which underpinned the authority of the manuscript evidence was being challenged, a development which would inevitably influence the fate of the *Pridie* in the editorial tradition. The work contributed by Anthony Grafton twenty years ago on the relationship between scholarship and forgeries in *Forgers and Critics* provides the theoretical framework for understanding how this might be the case.⁵¹ Grafton's thesis established that the relationship between those producing forgeries and the more legitimate efforts of the critics was essentially dialectic. Grafton argued that forgers were consistently having to develop their methods and techniques to match the concurrent developments in scholarship, while critics in turn were motivated to continuously modify their own approaches

⁴⁹ Cicero, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Gruterus, *Praefatio*; cf. Hunt 1998, p. 248.

⁵⁰ Cicero, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Gruterus, *Praefatio*: 'I illustrated, corrected, healed the best author of the Roman language in more than a thousand places'.

⁵¹ Grafton 1990.

to respond to the efforts of their less legitimate counterparts. This understanding of the relationship between forgers and critics was used by Grafton as a means for explaining what motivated critics and scholars to continually develop their historical and philological strategies. The fate of the *Pridie*, with its gradual decline in status and eventual eradication from the editorial tradition, can therefore be understood as a reflection of developments in scholarship.

In both classical and biblical scholarship the uncritical faith in manuscripts demonstrated by some parties, such as certain Ciceronian editors, was provoking a reaction. In classical scholarship, there were increasing efforts to determine parameters for the evaluation of the quality of manuscripts, so that they might be approached more critically. This had been the case since the Renaissance period, when first Politian and then Scaliger had attempted to construct a more methodical approach to engaging with the manuscripts being recovered.⁵² From their work certain principles were established which would be central to developing theories of textual criticism and manuscript use, such as Politian's argument that the older manuscripts must be more accurate than the humanist copies, and therefore preferable, thereby establishing the principle of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*. Scaliger endorsed Politian's contribution, applying the principle broadly to his work on the text of Catullus, and discerning what amounted to a stemmatic relationship among his manuscripts. These developments in the critical approaches to manuscripts would not necessarily have diminished the status of the *Pridie*; if anything, they may have contributed to its survival, as by demonstrating the value of the oldest manuscripts they further endorsed the authority of those manuscripts which transmitted the speech.

It was rather the developments in the 17th century for which the work of Politian and Scaliger laid the groundwork which increasingly challenged the assumption that the manuscripts provided the most accurate, and therefore the most authorita-

⁵² On the efforts of Politian and Scaliger see Grafton 1991, pp. 6–12, 47–75 and 1975, pp. 151–81; Kenney 1974, pp. 54–56; Reynolds and Wilson 1991, pp. 143–45, 210; Greetham 1992, pp. 308–09; Timpanaro 2005, pp. 46–57.

tive evidence. In classical scholarship there were prominent calls for establishing a fully critical approach to the manuscripts. Nicholas Heinsius provides an example of this, as he advocated a new standard of manuscript collation following his extensive travels across Europe, during which he collected a great deal of evidence from various manuscripts.⁵³ Jean Le Clerc was another prominent figure in this process; he used his *Ars Critica* in 1697 to recommend various scholarly strategies for engaging with texts, including a series of *leges emendandi*. One such law established that a critic ‘ne ulla emendatio a lectione veterum codicum nimium recedito’.⁵⁴ This renewed interest in the proper use of manuscripts contributed to the significant development of new fields in scholarship, those of palaeography and diplomatics, most clearly articulated in Jean Mabillon’s *De Re Diplomatica*, published in 1681.⁵⁵ While the development of a coherent critical approach to collating manuscript evidence was still a long way off, there was sufficient progress in the 17th century to demonstrate that the blind faith in manuscript accuracy displayed by some editors was being challenged. This scholarly development presented a viable threat to the prime source of the *Pridie*’s authority.

It was not solely in classical scholarship that doubts regarding the authority of the manuscripts were developing; in fact, the greatest challenges to that authority emanated from biblical scholarship. Manuscripts formed a central point of contention within religious debate, particularly in the later 17th century.⁵⁶ It was the manuscripts which provided the means by which aspects of the Bible could be challenged, and as a result core doctrines of the Church. A primary example of this was the debate over the Johannine comma, which was a vital component of the doctrine of the Trinity. Erasmus had discovered when creating his edition of the New Testament that none of the extant manu-

⁵³ Kenney 1974, pp. 57–62; Greetham 1992, pp. 317–18; Sandys 1908, pp. 323–26; Timpanaro 2005, pp. 45–57.

⁵⁴ Le Clerc 1698, II.356: ‘do not let any emendation depart too much from the reading of the ancient codices’.

⁵⁵ Reynolds and Wilson 1991, p. 171. Most 2005, pp. 743–45, describes how 18th-century scholarship was marked by the development of such organisational disciplines.

⁵⁶ Keene 2006, p. 228; Israel 2001, pp. 447–56.

scripts contained 1 John 5, 7, and as a result ejected it from the text, only to restore it in subsequent editions due to the furore provoked.⁵⁷ This was only the beginning of a long tradition of using manuscripts to launch attacks against important points of doctrine. For example, Baruch Spinoza used the manuscripts extensively to construct his attacks on aspects of belief, arguing fervently that the Bible was a text like any other, and therefore subject to the same methods of criticism.⁵⁸ Manuscripts therefore became a vital weapon against forms of traditional Church authority; it was the response to this that was significant to the changing status of the manuscripts, as the Church recruited all its critical powers to demonstrate the fallibility of the weapon used so extensively by its enemies.

Central to these efforts to diminish the authority of the manuscripts was the work of the biblical critic Richard Simon.⁵⁹ Simon constructed his argument around the inherent flaws of the manuscript evidence; he argued that since it was impossible to know for certain the origins of the biblical text, the authority of that text was compromised.⁶⁰ Consequently, Simon argued that the traditions of the Church should be the source of ultimate authority. Simon challenged the reliance of the Protestants and Socinians on the text; he highlighted the problems of transmission, and the elements that made the manuscripts so problematic to engage with, and argued that as a result dependence on tradition as well as the Scripture was fundamental. Simon offered his own views on the problem of the Johannine comma: he had looked at the manuscripts held in the libraries of Louis XIV and Colbert, and in most the comma was missing, but this did not demand the abandonment of the Trinity. Such efforts as those of Simon to discredit the attacks made on the Bible in the context of religious debate proved significant to the decline of the general status of manuscripts across scholarship.

⁵⁷ Iliffe 2006, pp. 141–42; Levine 1997, pp. 573–96.

⁵⁸ Hazard 1953, pp. 213–31; Israel 2001, pp. 447–56.

⁵⁹ Richard Simon (1638–1712) was a French Oratorian and biblical critic; see Hazard 1953, pp. 213–31 and Israel 2001, pp. 447–56.

⁶⁰ Simon 1682, pp. 17–28.

It was across this period, as manuscripts were being challenged as authoritative transmitters of the text, that the *Pridie*'s status declined in the editorial tradition. As classical scholars recognised the need for a more critical approach to the manuscripts, and biblical scholars challenged the integrity of the manuscript evidence, the assumption made by editors that the use of manuscripts would ensure the authority of their work was no longer viable. The fact that the *Pridie* had been transmitted in manuscripts significant to the Ciceronian tradition wielded increasingly insufficient influence. In this way, the story of the *Pridie*'s survival and decline further confirms the dialectical relationship between scholarship and forgeries.

5. Conclusion

The fate of the *Pridie* provides a valuable insight into the relationship between falsifications, scholarship, and authority. A flawed work, lacking credibility on account of its historical inaccuracy, its contradictory content, and its stylistic weaknesses, it nevertheless maintained a presence in the editorial tradition of Cicero. It was preserved among the genuine works of Cicero for hundreds of years. The only authority it possessed was its presence in a respected and valued manuscript tradition; this authority was enough to justify its place in the Ciceronian tradition, as in the Ciceronian editions manuscripts had acquired sufficient status to be one of the favoured means among editors of constructing authority for their work. When in both classical and biblical scholarship that status was challenged, the assumption of manuscript accuracy was diminished, and with it the authority which resulted from their use. It was only at this point, when scholarship diminished the authority of the manuscript evidence, that the place of the *Pridie* in the Ciceronian tradition finally declined, and that the work was eventually eliminated.

The *Pridie* therefore demonstrates the overriding importance of authority in scholarship in the early modern period, and the contradictory ways that authority might be constructed. The perpetuation of the *Pridie* by the editors of Cicero demonstrates that the factors that generated authority in the field of schol-

arship, such as the use of manuscript evidence, overrode the apparent subversion of authority associated with a false text. It was only when developments in scholarship began to erode the assumed accuracy of the manuscripts, and hence the authority they wielded, that editors began to increasingly question the survival of the *Pridie*. The *Pridie*'s fate was not dictated by its status as a falsification, but by the scholarly authority wielded by the manuscripts.

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Abstract

The survival of the spurious speech *Pridie quam in exilium iret* within the Ciceronian tradition into the eighteenth century provokes an inevitable question: how did a work clearly, and widely acknowledged as, an impostor in the Ciceronian canon survive for so long? In answering this question, this chapter encompasses the transmission of that speech in the manuscripts, the authority wielded by the manuscript tradition in the eyes of the editors of the Ciceronian text, and the increasing challenges to that authority in both classical

and biblical scholarship in the seventeenth century. As a result, a picture emerges of the notion of 'authority' in scholarship, in which the importance of being able to invoke authority in scholarship was such that it overrode the issue of falsification. It was only when the authority associated with the manuscripts was challenged and exposed, that the obviously false *Pridie's* place in the Ciceronian print tradition declined.

CAUSES, OPPORTUNITIES
AND METHODS IN THE FALSIFICATION
OF ROMAN EPIGRAPHY
IN RENAISSANCE SPAIN
THE CASE
OF THE TETRARCHS' INSCRIPTIONS¹

1. *Introduction. The Dawn of Epigraphical Studies in Spain*

The early Italian Renaissance brought widespread interest in the rediscovery, interpretation and collecting of Roman material culture, from literature to architecture, sculpture, topography, numismatics and also, of course, epigraphy.² In the study of epigraphy, there were at least 2 great antiquarian interests that converged. The first one was the interest in Latin language and literature: the inscriptions offered dozens of new texts that were direct testimonies of the ancient language; all the while, the texts of a more literary nature were compiled in florilegia, so that they could be read almost as though they were epigrams. The second interest was that of humanistic historiography, which widened its scope to such fields as classical toponymy and geography, where the study of inscriptions and archaeological findings was key.

Although the compilation of epigraphic texts dates back to the end of the 14th century, the first 'true' epigraphic *syllogai* appeared in Italy in the second half of the 15th century. These were manuscript collections in which inscriptions were compiled with a mainly instrumental purpose, viz. the constitution of vade-mecums to divulge the ancient texts to whoever could use them to interpret the past.

¹ This paper is presented as part of the Project FFI2016-77723-P, funded by the Spanish Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad.

² For a survey of the rediscovery of classical epigraphy in the Renaissance, see Weiss 1969, pp. 145–66, Stenhouse 2005, pp. 21–41, Vuilleumier & Laurens 2010, pp. 14–32 and Buonocore 2014.

In Spain, the interest in the copying and study of ancient inscriptions started somewhat later, in the last quarter of the 15th century. In most cases, it was fostered by humanists who had studied or lived in Italy for long periods, while Spain was engaged, almost exclusively, in the conquest of the last remaining Moorish territories and in strengthening the power of the monarchy, which, until then, had been heavily influenced by the nobility. Oddly enough, the first existing reference to epigraphic remains of Roman Hispania – already including an allusion to the fake Latin inscriptions supposedly engraved on 4 bull-shaped Celtiberian statues known as the *Toros de Guisando* (near Ávila) –, is found in a work that is neither historical nor Spanish. It is a speech delivered in 1486 by Antonio Geraldini, who was part of an embassy of King Ferdinand II of Aragon to Pope Innocent VIII.³ In this speech, Geraldini formulates a basic idea that will become a *Leitmotiv* among the more ‘Europeanized’ Hispanic humanists: he claims the supremacy of Hispania over all other Roman provinces, considering it almost on a par with Italy (and establishing an evident parallel with contemporary European politics).⁴ At the same time, however, a conflicting line of discourse will emerge and spread around the Iberian Peninsula, praising the native Hispanic past as opposed to the Roman (and therefore Italian) one.⁵

Starting in the 1480s, we find the first copies of inscriptions in Spain.⁶ Emil Hübner, editor of the volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* about Hispania, knew the earliest *corpora* only through the manuscript copies made by European humanists.

³ Geraldini 1486, f. [3^v]: *Ita familiariter cum illa uixerunt, ut in nullam prouinciam plures colonias transmiserint, nullibi plura suorum gestorum monumenta reliquerint: Pompei trophea in Pyrenorum iugo sita sunt, Scipionum monumenta non longe a Taracone spectantur, in Bastetania tauri sunt ex lapide durissimo maximi tergaque his litteris adhuc notati: ‘Bellum Caesaris et patriae’*. Cf. González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012, pp. 41–42. For the fake Latin inscriptions of the *Toros de Guisando* (CIL 2, 278*), see Hernando Sobrino 2007 and González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012, pp. 63–65.

⁴ See Lupher 2003, pp. 200–01.

⁵ See, among other studies, Lupher 2003, pp. 203–06; MacCormack 2005; Fernández Albaladejo 2007.

⁶ For a survey of the first evidences of epigraphic interest by local humanists in Spain and Portugal, see Gimeno Pascual 1998; González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012, pp. 39–43, and González Germain 2013.

That is why for years it was doubted whether local humanists had taken part in the epigraphic studies before the 1530s. However, we now know of two epigraphical *syllogai* dating back to the end of the 15th century and written by Catalan humanists, the archivist and chronicler Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434–1517)⁷ and the doctor in Law and prior of the cathedral of Tarragona Francesc Vicent († 1523). There are also 2 key figures in the panorama of late 15th-century Hispanic humanism that stand out for their antiquarian and epigraphic interests: Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522), ‘prince’ of Castilian humanists and author of the 1st Spanish grammar; and Jeroni Pau (c. 1458–1497), who lived in Rome for 17 years (1475–1492) as the secretary of Cardinal Borgia (who was later to become Pope Alexander VI). Although we do not yet know the real extent and repercussion of antiquarianism in Spain during that period, it is clear that several local scholars played an important role in it.

The copying of the first genuine epigraphs was soon followed by the systematic invention of fake inscriptions.⁸ Within the earlier *corpora*, we find about 20 of these, among which are the inscriptions of the *Toros de Guisando*, with their evident Castilian political connotations;⁹ or 2 groups attributed to small towns in the Valencian coast and in Extremadura.¹⁰ It is hard to imagine that a foreign humanist just passing through Spain could have created these texts and localized them in such remote places. Thus, despite the lack of reliable proof, it seems reasonable to attribute the creation of most of these fakes to a first generation of local antiquarians.

⁷ About his important epigraphical working, see Carbonell 2016 & González Germain 2013, pp. 56–93 & 2016.

⁸ For a broad contextualization of the phenomenon of epigraphic forgery, see Billanovich 1967, pp. 25–42; Stenhouse 2005, pp. 75–98; Orlandi, Caldelli & Gregori 2015 and recently Gallo & Sartori 2018. For a survey of Hispanic epigraphic forgeries, see Fabre & Mayer 1984; Mayer 1991; Mayer 1998; González Germain 2011a; and González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012.

⁹ See note 3.

¹⁰ They are 4 inscriptions from Denia and Villajoyosa (*CIL* 2, 164*, 363*, 364* and 1433) and 9 from Cáparra or its surroundings (*CIL* 2, 79*, 80*, 81*, 83*, 85*, 231*, 232*, 498* and 499*). An individual study of these inscriptions can be found in González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012, respectively pp. 62–65 and 68–74; for the fake character of *CIL* 2, 1433, see now González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2017.

2. *Epigraphical Forgeries in Florián de Ocampo's Sylloge*

The largest group of Hispanic fake inscriptions created in the Renaissance – with more than 70 new texts – appeared slightly later on, at the beginning of the 16th century. Almost all of these forgeries are included in the *sylloge* of the Castilian chronicler Florián de Ocampo (1495?–1558).¹¹ Ocampo, who had been a disciple of Nebrija in the University of Alcalá de Henares, was entrusted with the redaction of an ancient history of Spain by Charles V. However, the slowness of the whole project and his tendency to include many made-up episodes led him to publish only a small portion of the projected work. Indeed, the 5 books finally printed only covered the period until the 2nd Punic War (218–201 BC), when the Romans had just set foot on the Iberian Peninsula,¹² and they collect almost exclusively medieval legends, Annio da Viterbo's forged *Antiquitates* and self-invented stories.¹³

It has usually been considered that Florián de Ocampo assembled his epigraphic compilation while preparing his chronicle, sometime between 1525 and 1543.¹⁴ Although we lose track of the original volume shortly after its composition, the *sylloge* seems to have circulated widely for almost a century: 2 direct copies of the autograph have survived, and many other manuscript and published *syllogai* are derived – directly or indirectly – from Ocampo's one.¹⁵ Around 1550 news concerning this compilation reached the French epigraphist Jean Matal (c. 1517–1597), who wrote that Ocampo was said to have collected all Spanish inscriptions in one volume.¹⁶ While this is clearly an exaggeration,

¹¹ For a detailed study of Ocampo's *sylloge* and its tradition, see González Germain 2013, pp. 187–227.

¹² The 1st edition contained 4 books (*Los quatro libros primeros de la Cronica general de España*, Zamora, 1543). 10 years later, he published a 2nd edition which included a 5th book (*Los cinco libros primeros de la Cronica general de España*, Medina del Campo, 1553).

¹³ See Samson 2006.

¹⁴ Gimeno Pascual 1997, p. 35.

¹⁵ The 2 direct copies are: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 3610, fols 2–20^v and 25^v–29^v, and Torino, Archivio di Stato, raccolta Francesconi, vol. 62, fols 694–702.

¹⁶ Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8495, fol. 11^v: *Florianus Ocampus, qui historiam Hispaniae scripsit, dicitur omnes Hispaniae ueteres inscriptiones in unum uolumen congegisse.*

it coincides with the description made by an anonymous scribe who copied a number of inscriptions from Ocampo's original *sylloge*, and according to whom it was *un librarro [...] sopra il quale ne erano scritte infinite altre [pietre]*.¹⁷

The comparison between the 2 main extant copies allows us to attribute to Ocampo's original compilation around 260 inscriptions, one third of which (73) are newly created forgeries. While he may be held responsible for the widespread circulation of these fake texts, he was by no means the actual forger. On the contrary, Ocampo was merely echoing an earlier tradition, which is also reflected in other compilations made in the 1510s and 1520s by earlier humanists such as Agostino Vespucci (c. 1464 – c. 1545)¹⁸ or Mariangelo Accursio (1489–1546).¹⁹ Both humanists were assigned to embassies in the Iberian Peninsula that extended for some years (Vespucci in 1513–1516, Accursio in 1525–1529), a time they used to look for Roman antiquities. That is, presumably, when they were given a number of these forgeries, which afterwards they included – whether they recognized them as false or not – in their respective works. Finally, Alessandro Geraldini (1455–1524), a long-time resident at the Spanish court, also had recourse to this set of fakes before sailing to the New World in 1519, to take up the See of Hispaniola. In his *Itinerarium ad*

¹⁷ Torino, Archivio di Stato, raccolta Francesconi, vol. 62, fol. 694: *Pietre antique scritte trovate in diversi luoghi di Hispagna tolte per noi in Zamora città di detta provincia da un librarro di un m(esser) Florian' Ducampo cronista et canonico di essa città, sop(ra) il quale ne erano scritte infinite altre; forse non tolte tutte p(rim)a, o non scritte almeno sopra detto libro, molto fidelm(en)te. Queste così furono da noi scritte come sopra detto libro le trovassimo.*

¹⁸ Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 2104. Agostino di Matteo Vespucci, *coadiutor* in the Florentine chancery from 1494 to 1517, wrote this geographical, ethnographical and antiquarian treatise on Spain, dedicated to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici in 1520, under Agostino's true surname, Nettucci; see its recent critical edition (Vespucci 2017). For the false inscriptions contained in the work, see Carbonell, Gimeno & González 2012; for Vespucci's antiquarian endeavours while in Spain, see González Germain 2017. The work includes 9 of this set of fake Latin inscriptions: *CIL* 2, 20*, 21*, 40*, 51*, 220*, 237*, 238*, 344* and 354*.

¹⁹ Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS O 125 Sup. See Deswarte-Rosa 2011. In a fascicle independent of the main *sylloge* (now fols 2–4^v), Accursio sets aside a group of 8 spurious epigraphs, one of which is an earlier fake and the other 7 come from 'our' forger (*CIL* 2, 160*, 202*, 203*, 245*, 246*, 247* and 422*). On the top right margin of the first page, Accursio wrote ἀδῆλον (*not seen*), which suggests that he was already suspicious of these inscriptions.

regiones sub aequinoctiali plaga constitutas (1522), he made up 34 Latin inscriptions he had supposedly seen in Africa, which were in fact modeled on a dozen of the Spanish fakes that would later appear in Ocampo's *sylloge*.²⁰

From the constants that we have detected through a detailed study of both the form and content of these forgeries, we deduce that they were created simultaneously around 1515, most probably at just one location, and were circulated to further a certain political agenda. The time gap separating this fake-producing centre from the humanists who transmit the texts, makes it difficult to identify their exact point of origin, and explains why we still have no proof – only signs and suspicions – of the identity, location and specific motives of these forgers.²¹

An overview of the whole set of fakes does not allow to draw any clear conclusions.²² The texts are dispersed in different areas, both in Spanish and Portuguese territories, with some higher concentration zones in modern Andalusia, Catalonia, Extremadura and ancient *Celtiberia*. Formally, they are mainly epitaphs and honorary inscriptions, although there is also a group of milestones from the so-called *Vía de la Plata* (in the stretch between *Salmantica* and *Emerita Augusta*) and a very small number of dedicatory texts. Finally, historically themed forgeries (many of which are situated in Republican times) constitute a very large section of the whole, but we also find many other inscriptions which are apparently 'futile', without any clear historiographic or political message. In conclusion, the heterogeneity of the fake inscriptions compels us to study them in smaller, related groups of texts, for which partial conclusions may be drawn with much more certainty. This is precisely what we intend to do in the following pages.

²⁰ Geraldini's *Itinerarium*, first published in 1631, has now been critically edited for the first time (D'Angelo & Manfredonia 2017). For Geraldini's knowledge of the set of Spanish fakes related to Ocampo, see González Germain 2016a.

²¹ In González Germain 2017a, it has been suggested that the forger's profile would fit with one of the several Italian humanists who resided at the Spanish court for a long period of time, the two most likely candidates being Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526) and Giovanni Ruffo Teodoli († 1527).

²² See González Germain 2011a.

3. *The Case of the Tetrarchs' Inscriptions*

Because we do not know the real author or authors of this group of spurious texts, we have only been able to establish their *modus operandi* from their intrinsic study. This analysis has led us to understand what mechanisms and sources were used in the production of the forgeries, whether their message is politically or ideologically biased, and, with most difficulty, the causes that motivated their creation.

To illustrate this process, we present the case-study of a group of inscriptions which is thematically coherent and at the same time sufficiently representative: 6 texts referring to the emperors of the Tetrarchy (*CIL* 2, 97*, 127*, 233*, 234*, 235* and 448*).²³ They are the following:

N. 1 *CIL* 2, 97*

Location imprecisely described as *prope Tagum fluuium*.

*Aeterni imp(eratorum) inuicti Caes(ares) Aug(ustus) perpp(etui) Diocletianus, Maximianus, Galerius et Constantius templo matri Deum constructo in ripis Tagi sub nomine Magnae Pasitheae uaccam fordam albam priuatam Dianae sacr(um) immolauerunt.*²⁴

N. 2 *CIL* 2, 233*

Located in modern-day Coruña del Conde (Burgos): *ibidem* [i.e. *prope Cluniam in Arevacis*] *in aliis colum(nis)*.

*Diocletian(o) Caes(ari) Aug(usto) Galerio in Oriente adopt(ato), superstitione Christi ubiq(ue) deleta et cultu deor(um) propagato.*²⁵

²³ The texts provided come from the critical edition in González Germain 2011. The only difference with this edition is the clause *decuriones municipii* (instead of *municipiorum*) *posuere* from *CIL* 2, 127*, for which there are a few epigraphic parallels, one of them known from the end of 15th century (*CIL* 11, 6054) and the others from after the creation of the fake (e.g. *CIL* 11, 5959).

²⁴ Translation: Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius and Constantius, immortal emperors, unconquered, Caesars and Augusti in perpetuity, offered a pregnant white cow in a private sacrifice to Diana in the temple built on the banks of the Tagus in honor of the mother of the Gods, by the name of Great Pasitheia.

²⁵ Translation: [Dedicated] to Diocletian, Caesar and Augustus, who appointed Galerius in the East [viz. as Caesar], abolished the Christian superstition everywhere and spread the cult of the gods.

N. 3 CIL 2, 234*

Located in modern-day Coruña del Conde: *ibidem* [i.e. *prope Cluniam in Areuacis*] *in q(uam) plur(ibus) colum(nis)*.

*Diocletian(us) Iouius, Maximian(us) Hercules Caess. (i.e. Caesares) Augg. (i.e. Augusti) amplificato per Orientem et Occid(entem) imp(erio) Rom(ano) et nomine Christianor(um) deleti qui Remp(ublicam) euertebant.*²⁶

N. 4 CIL 2, 235* = 463*

Located in modern-day Coruña del Conde: *Cluniae quae nunc Coruña in Areuacis*.

*Imp(eratori) Maximian(o) Hercul(io) Caes(ari) Aug(usto), Constantio in Occid(ente) Caes(are) effecto et imp(erio) reip(ublicae) longe et late auc(to), Diocletiano principe inuic(to) et(iam) uno temp(ore) collega effec(to).*²⁷

N. 5 CIL 2, 127*

Located in Carmona (Seville): *Carmonae*.

*L(ucio) Aelio Baeticae proco(n)s(uli) ob prouinciam uice sacra Maxim(iani) Herculei Caes(aris) Aug(usti) opt(ime) et fortiss(ime) administ(ratam) decurr. (i.e. decuriones) municip(ii) p(osuere).*²⁸

N. 6 CIL 2, 448*

Located somewhere along the Vía de la Plata *in multis columnis*.

*Maximian(us) Aug(ustus) inuic(tus) pont(ifex) max(imus) Sarmat(icus) maxim(us) Gotticus max(imus) imp(erator) VIII co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) proc(onsul) iter reparauit. LX.*²⁹

²⁶ Translation: Diocletian Iovius and Maximian Hercules, Caesars and Augusti, who extended the Roman Empire eastwards and westwards and abolished the name of the Christians, who were upsetting the state.

²⁷ Translation: [Dedicated] to the Emperor Maximian Hercules, Caesar and Augustus, who appointed Constantius as Caesar in the West and enlarged the dominion of the state far and wide, at the same time as he appointed Diocletian, unconquered ruler, as his colleague.

²⁸ Translation: The decurions of the town dedicated [this monument] to Lucius Aelius, proconsul of Baetica, for his excellent and bold administration of the province, carrying out the sacred duties of Maximian Hercules.

²⁹ Translation: Maximian Augustus, unconquered, *Pontifex maximus*, greatest conqueror of the Sarmatians and the Goths, acclaimed emperor for the 9th time, consul for the 3rd time, Father of our country and proconsul, has restored this way. [Mile] 60.

Two of these inscriptions (*CIL* 2, 97* and 235*) include the names of all 4 Tetrarchs, while Emperors Diocletian and Maximian appear in *CIL* 2, 234*, and Emperor Diocletian and *Caesar* Galerius in *CIL* 2, 233*. Finally, Maximian is mentioned alone in *CIL* 2, 127* and 448*.

4. *Why Are the Inscriptions False?*

The first thing to address when dealing with suspected forgeries is the question of their falsehood. In this case, many details reveal the inscriptions as fakes, leaving no room for doubt to any expert on genuine epigraphy. We have classified the main signs of spuriousness into a number of categories, which can be applied to the majority of epigraphic forgeries created in the 15th century and in the beginning of the next.

1. None of the corresponding original inscriptions chiselled on stone have survived. This is certainly not a necessary or sufficient fact for us to conclude that an epigraph is either fake or genuine. Indeed, we know of many fake inscriptions which were effectively engraved, sometimes even using ancient supports, and, conversely, there are unquestionably genuine inscriptions whose originals have been lost through the ages. However, practically all Spanish epigraphic fakes created before 1550 are literary ones, so this fact does show a certain tendency when it is systematically repeated.
2. Use of imprecise locations, with utterly ambiguous indications such as *in multis columnis* (*CIL* 2, 448*), *prope Cluniam in Areuaccis* (*CIL* 2, 233* and 234*) or *prope Tagum fluuium* (*CIL* 2, 97*).
3. Difficulty in classifying some of the texts into the usual epigraphic categories: honorary inscriptions, epitaphs, dedicatory inscriptions, inscriptions on public works, legal inscriptions, milestones, etc. For example, next to an inscription of a clearly honorary nature (*CIL* 2, 127*) and a milestone (*CIL* 2, 448*), we find two others (*CIL* 2, 97* and 234*) which are, in fact, just simple descriptive-narrative texts.
4. Absence of any description of the supports on which the inscriptions had supposedly been recorded. In this case only

one, *in multis columnis* (CIL 2, 448*), could be interpreted as a milestone, since at the end of the inscription the mile number is indicated: *iter reparauit. LX*. All the others lack any references.

5. Mistakes made in the imperial titles, revealing the author's ignorance of ancient epigraphic practice, despite the attempt to approximate it. As an example, the 4 tetrarchs are referred to as *Caesares Augusti* with no distinction among them (CIL 2, 97* and 234*).
6. Onomastic mistakes which reveal the author's unfamiliarity with the Latin epigraphical identification system based on the structure *praenomen – nomen – filiation – tribe – cognomen*. In the present case study, as we will see, we find a proconsul represented simply by *L. Aelius* (CIL 2, 127*).
7. Use of certain expressions the source of which can be traced. This may happen whenever an expression is scarcely found in classical texts, or precisely because it would not be used in genuine epigraphy. We will discuss several examples of both.

The first 4 points allow to arouse suspicion on any inscription, although they could ultimately be explained as the result of a careless transcription, one which presents errors or difficulties in the reading and fails to include some elements that are 'basic' to an epigraphist. On the other hand, the last 3 points definitely prove these suspicions, because they can only be explained as the mistakes made in the process of creating a text *ex nouo*. We will now proceed to analyze these aspects in greater depth.

5. Forgers at Work

5.1. Mistakes in the Roman Onomastic System and Imperial Titles

Anachronisms and mistakes made in the attempt to imitate an earlier period's language and thought are one of the clearest signs of a forgery.³⁰ For the inscriptions created during this period,

³⁰ See Grafton 1990, p. 60: If any law holds for all forgery, it is quite simply that any forger, however deft, imprints the pattern and texture of his own period's

the most common mistakes are found in the onomastic system and in the titles of emperors.

Forgers are not familiar with the actual use and evolution of the naming system for males (i.e. the *tria nomina*, the tribe and the filiation) and females, even though its use was exemplified by multiple inscriptions (for example, *L(ucius) Aelius L(ucii) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu) Aelianus*).³¹ The reason lies in the fact that their linguistic model was not based on inscriptions, but on literary sources, which almost never cite the full name of the people they refer to. As a consequence, they often confuse the *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen* for men, omit one of these elements, and make errors in the filiation; or sometimes they assign a *praenomen* to a woman, a characteristic only found in the more archaic inscriptions.

In the inscriptions we are now considering, we find a clear example of this in the name *Lucio Aelio Baeticae proconsuli* (*CIL* 2, 127*). The forger fails to include both the *cognomen* and the filiation of the proconsul in question. The absence of these simple details in a genuine text is inconceivable for 2 reasons: (a) the prominence of the proconsul's public position, and (b) the difficulty involved in identifying someone whose *praenomen* and *nomen* are so common. This inconsistency already led Antonio Agustín (1517–1586), who thought the text was authentic, to consider there had to be some missing elements after the *nomen*. Therefore he edited *Lucio Aelio* [- - -] / *Baeticae proconsuli*, and thus ended up 'improving' the original forgery.³²

Similarly, in 5 out of the 6 examples, the titles *Caesar* and *Augustus* are incoherently applied to the tetrarchs. It is true that before Diocletian both were applied indistinctly to emperors, but during the Tetrarchy these titles acquired a distinctive value:

life, thought, and language on the past he hopes to make seem real and vivid. But the very details he deploys, however deeply they impress his immediate public, will eventually make his trickery stand out in bold relief, when they are observed by later readers who will recognize the forger's period superimposed on the forger's.

³¹ This example comes from *CIL* 2, 267, an inscription from Odrinhas (Portugal) copied by André de Resende in the first half of the 16th century.

³² Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 5781, fol. 77^v. For Antonio Agustín's *sylloge*, see Carbonell, Gimeno & Vargas 1992 and most recently Carbonell Manils & González Germain 2018.

Augustus referred only to the 2 senior emperors (i.e. Diocletian and Maximian), while *Caesar* referred to the junior co-emperors who were destined to succeed them (i.e. Constantius and Galerius Maximianus). In this respect, the epigraphical as well as the historical sources leave no room for doubt:³³

- Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, 9, 22: Diocletianus Maximianum Herculum ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Caesares.
- Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 25, 5: hoc periculo Diocletianus permotus Maximianum Herculum ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium uero et Maximianum Galerium Caesares legit. Constantius Herculi Maximiani priuignam Theodoram accepit uxorem, ex qua sex filios fratres Constantini sustulit.
- Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 39, 2: Is [viz. Diocletianus] Maximianum Augustum effecit; Constantium et Galerium Maximianum, cognomento Armentarium, Caesares creauit, tradens Constantio Theodoram, Herculi Maximiani priuignam, abiecta uxore priori.

Quite surprisingly, the forger seems to entirely disregard these sources, as we see in 3 of these examples, where both titles are used without distinction;³⁴ in yet another case it could be understood that these titles have been interchanged (*Diocletiano Caes(ari) Augusto Galerio in Oriente adoptato*, CIL 2, 233*); and only in

³³ These 3 sources were available through printed editions at the beginning of the 16th century (the latest to be published was the *Epitome*, the *editio princeps* of which appeared in 1504). Two other historical sources with much the same information would later appear during the 2nd half of the century, the Latin translation of Zonaras' *Epitome historiarum* and Pseudo-Aurelius Victor's *Liber de Caesaribus*. Zonaras, 31: [Diocletianus] *considerataque principatus amplitudine siue quarto siue, ut alii docent, secundo imperii anno, collegam Maximianum Herculum asciscit [...]* Diocletianus porro et Maximianus suum uterque generum Caesares declararunt: Diocletianus Maximinum Gallerium [...]: Herculus Maximianus Constantium. Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Liber de caesaribus*, 39, 24–25: *his de causis Iulium Constantium, Galerium Maximianum, cui cognomen Armentario erat, creatos Caesares in affinitatem uocant. Prior [viz. Constantius] Herculi [viz. Maximiani] priuignam, alter [viz. Galerius] Diocletiano editam sortiuntur diremptis prioribus coniugiis.*

³⁴ CIL 2, 97*: *Caesares Augusti [...]* Diocletianus, Maximianus, Galerius et Constantius; CIL 2, 234*: *Diocletianus Iouius, Maximianus Herculeus Caesares Augusti*; CIL 2, 127*: *Maximiani Herculei Caesaris Augusti.*

one case is the title correctly used (*Maximian(us) Aug(ustus) inuic(tus)*, *CIL* 2, 448*). The most blatant inconsistency appears in *CIL* 2, 235*, where, after Maximian *Herculius* is referred to as both *Caesar* and *Augustus* (*Imperator(i) Maximian(o) Hercul(io) Caesari Augusto*), it is said that he appointed Constantius as a *Caesar* (*Constantio in occidente Caesare effecto*), which is true, and also that he appointed Diocletian as a *collega*, while in fact it was exactly the other way around (*Diocletiano principe inuicto etiam uno tempore collega effecto*).

5.2. Use of Genuine Epigraphic Sources

As a general rule, we must bear in mind that these inscriptions are usually found interspersed with genuine inscriptions. The forgers, of course, knew these and had access to the contemporary epigraphical compilations, in which they aspired to insert their own creations. In this regard, it seems obvious that a fake is more ‘credible’, if its characteristics are similar to those of genuine inscriptions. And, accordingly, we see how forgers strive to give their texts a certain epigraphical ‘flavour’ through the use of clearly epigraphical forms.

The Tetrarchs appear very frequently in Late Antiquity and medieval historiographical works, but in none of these they are mentioned as *aeterni imperatores* (*CIL* 2, 97*). On the other hand, the expression is undoubtedly genuine, for it is attested by half a dozen inscriptions.³⁵ And, in fact, only one of these (*CIL* 11, 6623) had been copied and was known from the end of the 15th century, and therefore it can be ascertained that this acted as the actual model.³⁶ It will be noted that the text also includes the epithet *perpetui*, which we find repeated in our fake:

³⁵ The Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby gives a total of 7 entries. Besides *CIL* 11, 6623, they are: *CIL* 2²/14, 931 (*Sanctissimi Aeternique Imperator[es] nostri*); *CIL* 5, 2817 (*Aeterno Imperatori*); *CIL* 8, 22355 (*D(omino) n(ostro) aeter/no Imp(eratori)*); *EE* 8, 750 and *BCTH*, 52, 1951–1952, 232 (*Aeterno Imperatori*); *ILS* 8947 (*Aeternum Imperatorem*).

³⁶ The text appears in Pomponio Leto’s *Compendium* (1499), for which see below, and in the *sylogai* of Bartolomeo Fonzio (c. 1489) and Giovanni Giocondo (3rd recension, c. 1502).

*Aeterni Imperatores Diocletianus et Maximianus Augusti et perpetui Caesares Constantius et Maximianus pontem Metauro.*³⁷

One of the *sylogai* that contain this text, the so-called *codex Filonardianus*,³⁸ presents a brief anthology of inscriptions (fol. 84^{r-v}) mentioning the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian.³⁹ This quite exceptional series is composed of the following 6 inscriptions: *CIL* 6, 1124; 6, 1130; 12, 2229; 11, 6623; 6, 2141 and 10, 66*.⁴⁰ Although the common focus on these emperors could be a mere coincidence, there are already at first glance 2 signs that seem to suggest otherwise: 3 of the texts (*CIL* 6, 1124; 6, 1130 and 12, 2229) also include the epithet *inuictus*, not found in *CIL* 11, 6623, but present in the forgery; and *CIL* 10, 66* mentions Galerius' name.⁴¹

There is yet another example of the imitation of genuine sources in that same inscription: the use of the clause *uaccam fordam albam* [*immolauerunt*]. In Latin literature there are very few allusions to a *uaca alba*; the adjective *forda* is equally uncom-

³⁷ Translation: Diocletian and Maximian [i.e. M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Herculus], immortal emperors and Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian [i.e. C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus], Caesars in perpetuity, [restored] the bridge in Metaurum.

³⁸ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. fol. 61 p., fol. 84^{r-v}. See Oldenberg 1877; González Germain 2013, pp. 138–43 and 166–67.

³⁹ For the origin of this anthology, see below, pp. 147–150. The same series, with the omission of the last text, appears again in the *syloge* of Andrea Alciato known to epigraphists as *codex Feae* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10546, fols 78^v–79).

⁴⁰ The texts of the inscriptions are given according to the *codex Filonardianus*. *CIL* 6, 1124: *M. Aur. Val. Maximiano inuicto Aug. pont. max. Sarmatic. max. Gotic. max. imp. VIII cos. III p. p. proconsuli*; *CIL* 6, 1130: *Constantius et Maximianus inuicti Augusti Seuerus et Maximinus Caesares thermas ornauerunt et Romanis suis dedicauerunt*; *CIL* 12, 2229: *dd. nn. Imp. Caess. C. Aurel. Valerius Diocletianus p. p. inuictus Aug. muris Curadonensibus aedificiis prouidentia sua instituit [- -]tis atque erectis portam Viennensium Herculiam uocari iusserunt*. In fronte alterius portae: *portam Romanam Iouiam uocari iusserunt*; *CIL* 6, 2141: *dedicata XIII Kal. Ian. Constantio III et Maximiano III Caess. coss. curante Aur. Niceta*. *CIL* 12, 6623 has already been transcribed, and *CIL* 10, 66* is given below.

⁴¹ This inscription, which is in fact a fake created slightly earlier, is discussed below.

mon and almost always used in conjunction with the noun *bos*.⁴² For example, in Varro's *Lingua Latina* we read: *fordicidia a fordis bubus: bos forda quae fert in uentre*;⁴³ in Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus: *fordicidis boues fordae, id est grauidae, immolabantur*;⁴⁴ and in Ovid's *Fasti*: *pontifices, forda sacra litate boue. / Forda ferens bos est fecundaque dicta ferendo*.⁴⁵ It is therefore unlikely that the origin of such an unusual expression is to be found in literature. As Hübner already explained, this reference seems to originate from a genuine (but lost) inscription from Saguntum, *CIL* 2, 3820 (= 2²/14, 292), which in its currently accepted edition reads:

*Dianae Maximae / uaccam ouem albam porcam / [- - -] ONS
[- - -]*.⁴⁶

This inscription was copied several times in different *syllogai* preceding that of Ocampo, with very different readings, given its already advanced state of deterioration:⁴⁷

Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini	<i>uacca ouem albam fordam</i>
Francesc Vicent	<i>uaggamourma abram torcam</i>
Marin Sanudo	<i>uaggam uesma abram torcam</i>
<i>Codex Filonardianus</i>	<i>uaggamo urma abram torcam</i>
<i>Codex Chlumczansky</i>	<i>uaccam ouem suam forbam</i>
Giovanni Bembo	<i>uaccam ouem albam porcam</i>

The texts of Vicent, Sanudo and the *codex Filonardianus* are so incomprehensible that we cannot imagine that they inspired our forger. The readings found in Bembo and in the *codex*

⁴² In Columella, *De re rustica*, 6, 24, 3–4 the reference is not to *bos* but to *iuuenca*: [viz. *Iuuenca*] *si post unum coitum forda non admittit taurum; quod et ipsum raro accidit*.

⁴³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, 6, 3, 15.

⁴⁴ Festus, *De uerborum significatu*, p. 74.

⁴⁵ Ovidius, *Fastorum libri sex*, 4, 630–31.

⁴⁶ Translation: To Diana Maxima, a cow, a sheep and a white sow [...].

⁴⁷ Ferrarini: Reggio nell'Emilia, Biblioteca Panizzi, Regg. C 398, fol. 172; Vicent: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 20.11.Aug. 4°, fol. 201; Sanudo: Verona, Biblioteca civica, MS 2006, fol. 176; *codex Filonardianus*: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. fol. 61 p., fol. 39^v; *codex Chlumczansky*: Praha, Národní Museum, MS XVII A 6, fol. 80; Giovanni Bembo: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10801, fol. 65^v.

Chlumczansky would not justify the substitution of *porcam* for *fordam* nor *suam* for *albam*, respectively; therefore, we must conclude that the real origin lies in the more ancient tradition (attested by Ferrarini) that records the words *uacam ffordam albam*. Thus we see how the forger's task was not an easy one, and how it was based on the perusal of many different and relevant sources, even in order to create just one fake.

The forger also gave his creations a certain coherence by using easily recognizable formulas in different texts, so as to avoid making them seem 'exceptional'. This seems to be the case of the form *uice sacra* (*CIL* 2, 127*), which also derives from genuine epigraphic texts, where it has, however, a specific legal sense, in formulas like *uice sacra cognoscens* or *uice sacra iudicans*. In the Hispanic epigraphy known in this period, it appears only once in *CIL* 2, 4107 (= 2²/14, 945),⁴⁸ so the forger probably took it from this inscription. The changing of meaning from the legal to the political sphere, as well as the conjunction with an emperor's name, are clearly innovations made by the forger, who also used this same structure to create another fake (*CIL* 2, 160*), which refers to Marcus Aurelius and is located in Monda (Málaga):⁴⁹

*Iulius Nemesius Nomentanus uice Marci Aurelii imperatoris sacra Beticam gubernans praetorium in urbe Munda quo patres et populus ob rempublicam rite administrandam conueniant fieri mandauit.*⁵⁰

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that both forgeries have other elements in common, such as the mention of the *Baetica* province and the parallel expressions *ob rempublicam rite administrandam* (cf. *ob prouinciam... optime et fortissime administratam*). All in

⁴⁸ *CIL* 2, 4107 = 2²/14, 945: *Pio atque inclito D(omino) N(ostro) [[Crispo]] nobilissimo ac fortissimo et felicissimo Caesari Septimius Acyndinus u(ir) c(larissimus) agens per Hispanias V c(um) p(rovincia) T(ingitana) uice sacra cognoscens numini maiestatisque eius semper dicatissimus.*

⁴⁹ For this fake, see González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012, pp. 89–90.

⁵⁰ Translation: Iulius Nemesius from Nomentum, governor of Baetica fulfilling the sacred duties of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, ordered a *praetorium* to be built in the city of Munda, where the Senate and the people of Rome could meet in order to properly administer the affairs of state.

all, the hoax is amplified – as is often the case with falsifications – precisely in order to make it credible, as different forgeries ‘validate’ one another.

5.3. Use of Fake Epigraphic Sources

When the forger looked through the already compiled *sylogai* for inscriptions he could use as a model for his fakes, it often happened that he directed his attention, knowingly or otherwise, to a text which was itself spurious.

Among the set of texts we are now considering, we find a clear example of this. The creation of the three inscriptions found in Clunia (*CIL* 2, 233*, 234* and 235*) is clearly related to a little-known fake dating back to the beginning of the 16th century, the already mentioned *CIL* 10, 66*. This forgery, as we have already seen, appears at the end of the series of inscriptions about the Tetrarchs found in the *codex Filonardianus* which were used to create *CIL* 2, 97*. The text of *CIL* 10, 66*, edited among the fake inscriptions from Lucania, reads as follows:⁵¹

*Diocletianus Iouius Maximianus Hercules uno tempore imperium Romanum amplificauerunt; alter Galerium in Oriente, alter Constantium in Occidente adoptauere Caesaresque fecere.*⁵²

The comparison leaves little room for doubt. The clause *Galerium in Oriente [...] Constantium in Occidente* has been replicated in *CIL* 2, 235* (*Constantio in Occidente*) and in *CIL* 2, 233* (*Galerio in Oriente*). The use of the verb *adoptare* (*to adopt*), not found in genuine literary or epigraphical sources, appears both in the Italic fake (*alter Galerium [...] alter Constantium in Occidente adoptauere*) and in the Hispanic one *CIL* 2, 233* (*Galerio [...] adoptato*). Another expression taken from the inscription is *uno tempore* (*CIL* 2, 235*), as well as the idea of *imperium Romanum*

⁵¹ The location comes from the only other known manuscript containing this text (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 1871, fol. 3), where it is located in *Calabria in ualle de Diano in aede D. Petri in suburbio*. The *codex Filonardianus* does not include any location.

⁵² Translation: Diocletian Iovius and Maximian Hercules extended the Roman Empire simultaneously; the former appointed Galerius in the East, the latter Constantius in the West, and both were made Caesars.

amplificauerunt, which is found both in *CIL* 2, 234* (*amplificato [...] imperio Romano*) and in *CIL* 2, 235* (*imperio reipublicae longe et late aucto*). Lastly, Diocletian is mentioned here and in *CIL* 2, 234* with the epithet *Iouius*, genuine but scarcely used in epigraphic and literary sources.⁵³

In this case, we can take one step further in identifying the ultimate origin of these ‘fake’ expressions. In Pomponio Leto’s posthumous work *Romanae historiae compendium ab interitu Gordiani Iunioris usque ad Iustinum III*, a book which was quickly and widely circulated, we find the following text:⁵⁴

*Quinquagenarii et supra eum numerum annorum hi milites fuere, qui Aphricam diripiebant; cupientes sibi regnum uindicare, pululantibus per uaria loca nouis bellis concordēs augg. duos adoptauere, Diocletianus Galerium Maximi Maximianus Constantium cognomine Cloron, Caesaresque fecerunt. [...] Diocletianus Iouius est dictus, et Maximianus Herculus, Iouius et Hercules ab Gallis adeo dilecti, ut ab eis duo populi nomina sumpserint, Iouiorum et Herculiorum, et Viennenses duas urbis portas Iouiam et Herculiam adpellauere, ut epigrammata docent.*⁵⁵

Besides the veiled reference to the expansion of the empire, we recognize almost verbatim two of the expressions found in the Italic forgery: *adoptauere* and *Caesaresque fecerunt*. Moreover, it constitutes by far the clearest source available at the time for the initial clause *Diocletianus Iouius Maximianus Herculeus*.

⁵³ Only 2 literary sources seem to mention this epithet in relation to Diocletian: the Pseudo-Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 52, 3, which was discovered in 1678, and the *Panegyrici Latini* 8 [V], 4, 1; 9 [IV], 18, 5; 10 [II] 4, 2; 10 [II] 7, 5; 10 [II] 13, 3, and 11 [III], 14, 2, where the *cognomen* always appears substituting – and not accompanying – his personal name. As for the epigraphic texts, most of them had not been yet discovered (*CIL* 3, 3231; 6, 255, *AE* 1920, 13); the only exception is *CIL* 12, 2229 (see n. 40), which commemorates the construction of the walls of Grenoble (Rhône-Alpes) and the naming of the door facing Rome (*portam Romanam*) as *Iouiam*, and the one facing Vienne (*portam Viennensem*) as *Herculeam*, obviously in honor of Diocletian and Maximian respectively.

⁵⁴ Pomponio Leto 1499, fols c4 and e4. For this work, see Niutta 2011, with previous bibliography.

⁵⁵ The inscription to which Leto is referring is *CIL* 12, 2229, which he has just copied; see n. 40.

Leto's work also serves us to introduce a case of dependency from an interpolated inscription (*CIL* 2, 448*). This fake milestone might be deemed authentic, were it not for the fact that Maximian's official title does not include the epithet *Gotticus Maximus* nor does it include 9 imperial acclamations and 3 consulates.

This inscription was surely created from a text first published in Leto's *Romanae historiae compendium*: *M. Aur. Val. Maximiano inuicto Aug. pont. max. Sarmatic. max. Gotic. max. imp. VIII cos. III p.p. proconsuli*.⁵⁶ It is in fact an interpolation of a genuine epigraph, *CIL* 6, 1124, whose correct version would not be published until some years later, when it was included in the 1515 edition of Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*:⁵⁷

Thermae DIOCLETIANAE. Non longe ab ecclesia sanctae Susannae adhuc extant quas Constantinus et Seuerus dedicauerunt atque statuis suis conditorumque appositis ornarunt; ut in lapide marmoreo ibidem effosso litterae ostendunt s(ic): M. Aurelius [sic] Val. Maximiano inuicto Aug. pont. max. imp. VIII cos. III p. p. p. [CIL 6, 1124].

At this point, it is hardly surprising to find Leto's interpolated text within the series about the tetrarchs found in the *codex Filonardianus* (fol. 84), with the following text:

In Capitolio.

M. Aur. Val. Maximiano inuicto Aug. pont. max. Sarmatic. max. Gotic. max. imp. VIII cos. III p. p. proconsuli.

It should be noticed that the Spanish forger reproduces Leto's inscription exactly as it appears in the *codex Filonardianus*, with the wrong indication of the number of imperial acclamations. Otherwise, the changes introduced by the forger are limited to the transposition of *Agustus inuictus*, the final addition of *iter*

⁵⁶ Pomponio Leto 1499, fol. e4.

⁵⁷ Albertini 1515, fol. 20^v. In fol. 21^v the interpolated version is repeated, which is the only one included in the *editio princeps* (1510, fol. 1^v) of Albertini's work.

reparavit LX and the change of case in the name and imperial title.

The relationship between Leto's *Compendium* and the *codex Filonardianus*' series of the Tetrarchs goes beyond these 2 texts. In fact, the posthumous work also contains the rest of the inscriptions, with the sole exception of the fake epigraph *CIL* 10, 66*. Considering all the data, it is not difficult to imagine the chain of events that may have taken place: someone looked through the *Compendium* and copied all the inscriptions referring to the Tetrarchs; still not satisfied with five inscriptions, he re-elaborated Pomponio's information on these emperors to create one last epigraph, *CIL* 10, 66*. This *corpus*, only fully documented in the *codex Filonardianus*, was some years later the main epigraphical source used by the Spanish forger, who borrowed authentic, interpolated and fake expressions probably without even distinguishing one from the others.

5.4. Use of Ancient and Medieval Literary Sources

One of the greatest innovations of these forgeries in relation to the genuine inscriptions regarding the tetrarchs refers to the subject of *CIL* 2, 233* and 234*: the persecution of the Christians. This is also the subject of another Hispanic fake created some years earlier and related to the emperor Nero (*CIL* 2, 231*):

*Neroni Claudio Caesari Augusto pontifici maximo ob prouinciam latronibus et his qui nouam generi humano superstitionem inculcabant purgatam.*⁵⁸

Apart from the common topic, there are very significant formal differences: Christ is not directly mentioned, and we do not find any major mistake in the emperor's title.⁵⁹ On the other hand,

⁵⁸ Translation: [Dedicated] to Nero Claudius, Caesar and Augustus, *Pontifex maximus*, for having rid the province of brigands and of those who were inculcating a new superstition in mankind.

⁵⁹ This led Ramelli (2000; see *HEp* 10, 2000, 100) to defend the authenticity of this inscription as opposed to the falsehood of the tetrarchs' epigraphs. For this – undeniably spurious – inscription, see González Germain & Carbonell Manils 2012, p. 72.

the presence of the word *superstitio* both here and in *CIL* 2, 233* suggests that the author of the forgeries in Ocampo's *sylloge* knew the former fake inscription.

As we have seen, the tetrarchs mentioned in these texts appear recurrently in late-antique and medieval historiographical works.⁶⁰ However, only some of these works portray the tetrarchs as instigators and Diocletian specifically as the man responsible for the last great persecution of the Christians:

- Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 25, 5 [= Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 1, 6]: *Interea Diocletianus in oriente, Maximianus Herculus in occidente uastari ecclesias, adfligi interficique Christianos decimo post Neronem loco praeceperunt quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit, nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum incessabiliter acta est.*
- Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Zachariam*, 14, 12: *Nos autem dicemus, omnes persecutores, qui affligerunt Ecclesiam Domini, ut taceamus de futuris cruciatibus, etiam in praesenti saeculo recepisse quae fecerint. Legamus Ecclesiasticas historias, quid Valerianus, quid Decius, quid Diocletianus, quid Maximianus, quid saeuissimus omnium Maximinus, et nuper Iulianus, passi sint: et tunc rebus probabimus etiam iuxta litteram, prophetiae veritatem esse completam, quod computruerint carnes eorum, et oculi contabuerint, et lingua in pedorem et saniem dissoluta sit.*

Orosius and Bede use the structure *Diocletianus in oriente, Maximianus Herculus in occidente*, reflected in *CIL* 10, 66* (*alter Galerium in Oriente alter Constantium in Occidente*), and consequently in *CIL* 2, 233* (*in Oriente*), 234* (*per Orientem et Occidentem*) and 235* (*in Occidente*).

The use of historiographic works in the forgery of 'historical evidences' is understandable – up to a point. But to modern researchers it is far more surprising to find dependencies on non-historical literary sources. This is the case of the (clearly

⁶⁰ See above, p. 142.

spurious) association, found in *CIL* 2, 97*, between Cybele, the mother goddess, and Pasithea, one of the 3 Graces (*templo matri Deum [...] sub nomine Magnae Pasitheae*). This confusion originates from a passage in Catullus, in which the poet mentions Pasithea as the wife of the personification of Sleep, soon after an allusion to Cybele:

Catullus, 63, 35–43: *Itaque, ut domum Cybelles tetigere lassulae [viz. Gallae], / nimio e labore somnum capiunt sine Cerere. / [...] Sed ubi oris aurei Sol radiantibus oculis / lustravit aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum, / pepulitque noctis umbras uegetis sonipedibus, / ibi Somnus excitum Attin fugiens citus abiit: / trepidante eum recepit dea Pasithea sinu.*

The editions of Catullus made in the 15th century, however, convey the reading *Pasitheo* as an epithet of *sinu*, while *dea* is made to refer to Cybele, mentioned a few verses before. But this is not enough to explain why Pasithea and Cybele are explicitly considered equivalent. In fact, this was not an original deduction of the Spanish forger, but comes from Antonius Parthenius, the author of the first published commentary on Catullus:⁶¹

SINU PASITHEO: gremio suo deos omnes continent, deorum omnium capaci: nam Cybele πασιθέα graece appellatur – πᾶς omnis, θεός deus dicitur –; deorum enim mater dicitur.

Parthenius sought to give a satisfactory explanation of Catullus' already corrupted passage. In order to do that, he wrongly assumed that *Cybele was called in Greek Pasithea, from πᾶς and θεός, that is, the mother of all gods*. There is no doubt that Parthenius' mistaken deduction constitutes the 'hypotext' for the expression in the fake inscription. In turn, this episode gives us a good insight into how the forger looked for inspiration through all kind of different sources not only unrelated to Hispania, but also to the main topic of the fake in question.

⁶¹ Parthenius Lacisius 1485–1486, fol. c6. See Restani 1990, p. 280.

6. *Later Repercussions*

Epigraphic forgery (both literary and ‘archaeological’) did not end in the 16th century. And just as the author of the texts we have analyzed, based them on previous fakes, his creations were used as a model for later forgeries. Thus, for example, the history of *CIL* 2, 448* extends beyond Ocampo’s text. Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568), in his *Fastorum libri V*, published an inscription with no specified location, which was clearly an attempt at merging the information found in the interpolated Italic inscription copied by Pomponio Leto and the Hispanic fake:⁶²

*Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius / Valerius Maximianus / inuictus
Augustus Sarm. / max. Gothic. max. pont. max. / imp. VIII cos.
III p. p. pro cos. / iter reparauit.*⁶³

While the last part seems to originate from the Hispanic text, the emperor’s full name as well as the number of imperial acclamations is certainly taken from Pomponio’s inscription. There is undeniable evidence to support this hypothesis. In Panvinio’s manuscript *sylloge*,⁶⁴ we find (a) a clipping of the published version of his *Fasti*, (b) a copy of the fake Hispanic inscription, and (c) a copy of the interpolated version of Leto with the heading *in Capitolio*, i.e. according to the version found in the *codex Filonardianus*.

However, what seems to have secured a great circulation – and reutilization – of these texts among epigraphists, especially after the Counter-Reform, is the interest in the message conveyed by *CIL* 2, 233* and 234*, i.e. the persecution of the Christians. This is the case of Martín Velasco Pérez de la Torre, a minor Spanish humanist, who in 1628 produced, on the basis of *CIL* 2, 97*

⁶² Panvinio 1558, p. 385. For Onofrio Panvinio’s antiquarian activities, see Ferrary 1996.

⁶³ Translation: The Emperor and Caesar M. Aurelius Valerius Maximian, unconquered, Augustus, greatest conqueror of the Sarmatians and the Goths, *Pontifex maximus*, acclaimed emperor for the 8th time, consul for the 3rd time, Father of our country, proconsul and consul, has restored this way.

⁶⁴ Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6035, fol. 36.

and 233*, a new inscription (*CIL* 2, 236*), allegedly located in Micereces de Tera (Zamora):⁶⁵

*III inuicti Caesaris [sic] matri Deum sacello in Durii amnis ancone instructe [sic] sub magnae Pasiphaes (!) numine [sic] priuatum Dianae sacrum fordam uaccam albam immolauere ob Christianam eorum pia cura suppressam extinctamque superstitionem Dioclec. Maximian. Galerius et Constantius imper. augggg. perpetui.*⁶⁶

<i>CIL</i> 2, 97*	<i>CIL</i> 2, 236*
<i>inuicti Caesares</i>	<i>inuicti Caesaris</i>
<i>templo matri Deum</i>	<i>matri Deum sacello</i>
<i>in ripis Tagi</i>	<i>in Durii amnis ancone</i>
<i>sub nomine Magnae Pasitheae</i>	<i>sub magnae Pasiphaes (!) numine</i>
<i>priuatum Dianae sacrum</i>	<i>priuatum Dianae sacrum</i>
<i>uaccam fordam albam immolauerunt</i>	<i>fordam uaccam albam immolauere</i>
<i>Imperatores [...] Augusti perpetui Diocletianus, Maximianus, Galerius et Constantius</i>	<i>Dioclec. Maximian. Galerius et Constantius imper. augggg. perpetui</i>
<i>CIL</i> 2, 233*	
<i>superstitione Christi ubique deleta</i>	<i>ob Christianam [...] suppressam extinctamque superstitionem</i>

Similarly, a century later, Ludovico Antonio Muratori published, in his *Nouus thesaurus ueterum inscriptionum*, 2 fake inscriptions (*CIL* 9, 524*–525*) allegedly originating from Ascoli Piceno (Le Marche, Italy), which are undoubtedly inspired by *CIL* 2, 233* and 234*, despite being dedicated to different emperors (Hadrian and Antoninus Pius):⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 3610, fol. 182^v. See Gimeno Pascual 1997, p. 190.

⁶⁶ Translation: The 4 unconquered Caesars Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius and Constantius, Emperors and Augusti in perpetuity, offered a pregnant white cow in a private sacrifice to Diana in the temple built on the banks of the river Durii in honor of the mother of Gods, by the name of Great Pasiphae (!), for having removed and abolished the Christian superstition through their dutiful care.

⁶⁷ Muratori 1739–1742, vol. 3, p. 1797 n. 3 and 4.

CIL 9, 524: Adrianus caes. aug. parthic. / ampliatio imper. Romano / superstitione Christi / Asculi et alibi fere sublata / deorum cultu propagato / [- - -].*⁶⁸

CIL 9, 525: Antoninus Pius aug. / Romano imperio propagato / Christianorum cultu / qui rempub. subuertebant / prorsus deleto / [- - -] Asculi [- - -] / [- - -].*⁶⁹

<i>CIL 2, 234*</i>	<i>CIL 9, 524*</i>	<i>CIL 9, 525*</i>
<i>Amplificatio [...] imperio Romano</i>	<i>ampliatio imper. Romano cultu propagato</i>	<i>Romano imperio propagato</i>
<i>qui Rempubicam euertebant</i>		<i>qui rempub. subuertebant</i>
<i>nomine Christianorum deleto</i>		<i>Christianorum cultu [...] prorsus deleto</i>
<i>CIL 2, 233*</i>		
<i>superstitione Christi ubique deleta</i>	<i>superstitione Christi Asculi et alibi fere sublata</i>	

Finally, the appeal of this topic seems to explain a phenomenon which is truly exceptional among the forgeries of Florián de Ocampo's *sylloge*: the creation, centuries after the inscriptions were conceived, of a 'real' forgery (i.e. a fake epigraph actually carved in stone) made after one of the Renaissance texts. Thus, according to Detlef Detlefsen, a marble plaque was preserved in Rome in the 19th century, *in repositis musei Laterani*, with the same text as *CIL 2, 234**, except for the forms *Herculaeus* and *euertebant* (*CIL 6, 3550**).⁷⁰ While the epigraph seems now lost, we know of another 'duplicate' that has in fact survived, affixed to the wall of the Cortile at the American Academy in Rome (Fig. 1).⁷¹

⁶⁸ Translation: Hadrian, Caesar and Augustus, conqueror of the Parthians, having extended the Roman Empire and nearly abolished the Christian superstition in Asculum and elsewhere, and having spread the cult of the gods [...].

⁶⁹ Translation: Antoninus Pius, Augustus, having extended the Roman Empire and completely abolished the cult of the Christians, who were upsetting the state [- - -] in Asculum [- - -] / [- - -].

⁷⁰ According to the information supplied on 3/5/2010 by Giorgio Filippi, curator of the Musei Vaticani, the inscription is not to be found there, where most of the collection of the ancient Lateran Museum is preserved.

⁷¹ See Ohl 1931, pp. 104–05 n. 42 and plate 8 n. 2. We would like to thank prof. dr. Manfred Clauss for the information as well as his permission to publish the photograph.



FIG. 1
American Academy in Rome

*Diocletiano Căesar[i?] / Augusti Galerio / in Oriente adp-
tato / supertitione Cristi / ubiq(ue) deleta / cultus deorum
propaca[to?]*

The inscription was acquired in 1904–1905 by the American School of Classical Studies in Rome from an antiquities dealer in Palestrina (Lazio), together with other epigraphs. Among these were at least 7 other forgeries, with 3 more suspected ones.⁷² The study conducted by Raymond Ohl proved that they were the work of the same author – or, more precisely, authors, for the knowledge required in the composition of the texts contrasted with the middling skills displayed at engraving them. Ohl could not determine whether these were old forgeries (that is, from the 17th or 18th century) or recent ones (from the end of the 19th), and only observed that none of them had been known to previous scholars, therefore slightly opting for the latter option.

Our fake inscription, allegedly found by a peasant in Genazano, not far from Palestrina, is a slab of stone (32,5 × 18,5 cm) broken off at the right and bottom sides. The text replicates that of *CIL* 2, 233*, but with some inexplicable spelling mistakes (*adptato*, *supertitione*) as well as syntactic ones (*Augusti* instead

⁷² Ohl 1931, pp. 103–06.

of *Augusto*, *cultus* instead of *cultu*). Despite the state of preservation of the stone, only 2 letters in the last verse (*propaca[to?]*) and one in the first (*Câesar[i?]*) seem to be missing; this is especially significant in the word *Galerio* (l. 2), where the final *o* has been ‘squeezed’ between the previous letter and the current broken end. As far as the palaeography is concerned, the forgery is no less clumsy, with no close resemblance to Roman capitals and with some serious errors, such as the dot above the second *i* in *super-titione*.

7. Conclusion

We have tried to describe in detail the *modus operandi* of a fake-producing centre responsible for most of the corpus of Hispanic fakes of the early 16th century. It now seems clear that this was a circle of cultivated – but so far ‘anonymous’ – individuals, who had access to Hispanic and non-Hispanic inscriptions through manuscript *syllogai*, as well as to classical historical and literary sources, through the humanistic editions being printed at the time. In that respect, they can be fairly compared to the contemporary Italian antiquarian circles and the other forgers of inscriptions.

There is one important aspect that we have purposely left out from our analysis, and that we would like to briefly address before ending this paper: the motivations behind the creation of these fakes. In this regard, we have so far been unable to find any definite proof, largely because – unlike many other forgeries – most of these inscriptions appear completely decontextualized. As we have seen, we do not know either the names of their authors or the exact moment and place in which the texts were created. In addition to that, they are very seldom found in historical works, chronicles, geographical descriptions, etc. And even when they are, the authors of these works write decades after the inscriptions were invented, so their political use may or may not coincide with what the forger originally intended.

Another element we must consider, directly related to the ultimate aim of the forgers, is the *target* of this hoax. Most Hispanic chronicles of the Renaissance are directed to the ‘domestic’ Spanish public. However, this could not have been the target of the fake inscriptions: after all, they were first transmitted by 2 Italian humanists, Vespucci and Accursio, who were just passing

through the Iberian Peninsula. The limited interest in epigraphical studies in Spain before 1530 also strengthens this hypothesis, since the lack of an intellectual elite ready to ‘rise to the bait’ would seem to be at odds with the creation of such a large number of texts.

In spite of all these uncertainties, there is at least one very suggestive sign that should be pointed out. The arguments contained in the texts we have been analyzing do not include any sort of condemnation of the Romans,⁷³ contrary to what we might expect, considering they were responsible for the persecution of the Christians. What we find is a clear interest in expanding and confirming what was already known from literary sources, without adding any additional detail that could modify it. Not even Diocletian is directly attacked, let alone the 3 other tetrarchs. Here, as is often the case with this group of fakes, the Roman rulers are not presented as enemies of their contemporary Hispanic subjects, but, on the contrary, they are often honored by the citizens of the towns where the inscriptions are supposedly located.

In the absence of further evidence, and with all these considerations in mind, we are even more convinced that the reasons for the spreading of epigraphic forgeries should have been basically the following 3: (*a*) providing sufficient material ‘remains’ to confer prestige and identity to a country that had just finished driving out the Moors and wanted to restore the discourse of its Roman origins, followed by Gothic Christianity – a process which would culminate in the unification of its territory, entirely recovered for Christendom; (*b*) putting the Roman origins of the Iberian Peninsula on a par with those of Italy, given the political interests that the Spanish monarchy had in the Italian republics and kingdoms and in the papacy; and (*c*) increasing the number of available sources by incorporating these documents into the system of genuine sources, so that they would reinforce one another.

⁷³ The same holds true for another set of this corpus of fakes (see Carbonell, Gimeno & González 2012) related to Viriathus and the Lusitanian wars of the 2nd century BC.

Epigraphic corpora

- AE* *Année épigraphique*, 1888–.
- BCTH* *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*, 1883–.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 18 vols, Berlin 1863–.
- EE* *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 9 vols, 1872–1913.
- Hep* *Hispania Epigraphica*, 1989–.
- ILS* H. Dessau (1892–1916), *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols, Berlin: apud Weidmannos.

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Abstract

Spain is one of the territories of the ancient Roman Empire with a higher number of false inscriptions existing only in manuscript tradition, produced between the end of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. This forgery includes the invention of texts using as a model the ancient literary (and epigraphic) sources available. At that time, epigraphy became an indispensable tool to justify historical realities not enough known through literary sources. In Spain this process had an essential role in the writing of historiography. The authors and the causes for this falsification are not easy to detect; on the other hand, the methods applied

by the forgers can be traced with certainty through the comparison of Latin literary texts and the epigraphs already recorded in the collections of inscriptions. In this paper we will focus our attention in an important set of fakes mentioning the Tetrarchs (*CIL* 2, 97*, 127*, 233*, 234*, 235* and 448*), which will allow us to illustrate how forgers made use of ancient sources and to establish some hypotheses about the motives for their hoax.

IS *ON THERIAC TO PISO* A FORGERY?

The issue whether the pharmacological treatise *On Theriac to Piso* (*Ther. Pis.*) attributed to Galen is in fact by him, dates back to earlier than 1565. The Giunta edition of the Latin translation by Julius Martius Rota, published in 1565, states in the heading of the first page that *sunt qui negent hunc librum esse Galeni, nec sine causa. Aetius tamen in capite de Sale Theriaco, citat Galeni verba, ex hoc libro desumpta* ('there are those who deny, not without reason, that this book is by Galen. However, Aetius in his chapter on theriac salts quotes excerpts from this book as the words of Galen').

I have not been able to find in Aetius a quotation from *Ther. Pis.* attributed to Galen. There is, however, an excerpt from *Ther. Pis.* attributed to Galen in the 7th century, i.e. in Paulus of Aegina, *Epitomae medicae libri septem*, 5, 19, 1; 1, 1–4:

Τρία τῆς ἀσπίδος εἶδη, φησὶν ὁ Γαληνός, τῆς μὲν χερσαίας καλουμένης, τῆς δὲ χελιδονίας, τῆς δὲ τρίτης πτυάδος, ἥτις καὶ ὀλεθριωτέρα πασῶν ἐστίν· ἐπανατείνασα γὰρ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ συμμετρησαμένη τῷ διαστήματι τὸ μῆκος εὐστόχως ἐμπτύνει τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ἰόν.

There are three forms of asp, Galen says, one called the land asp, one the swallow-like, and the third the spitting snake which is the most destructive of all; for it stretches out its neck and measuring the distance it accurately spits poison at the body.

which corresponds to *Ther. Pis.*, XIV, p. 235, l. 1–3:

Καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἡ λεγομένη πτυὰς ἐπανατείνασα τὸν τράχηλον καὶ συμμετρησαμένη τὸ τοῦ διαστήματος μῆκος, ὥσπερ τότε λογικὸν γιγνόμενον τὸ θηρίον εὐστόχως ἐμπτύνει τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ἰόν.

Of the asps, the one called spitter stretches out its neck and measures out the distance and as if it had acquired the power of reason accurately spits its poison at the body.¹

This gives a *terminus ante quem* for the attribution of *Ther. Pis.* to Galen of the 7th century,² if there is a reference in Aetius that puts the attribution a couple of centuries earlier. The treatise also appears early on in the Arabic tradition, where it is ascribed to Galen. So if we are dealing with a forgery, it is an ancient forgery.

Turning to the internal evidence of *Ther. Pis.*, Vivian Nutton³ produces a compelling list of specifically Galenic elements in the treatise. These may be divided into biographical (the author purports to have studied at Alexandria, and to have served Marcus Aurelius and ‘our present great emperors’) and doctrinal ones (he reveres Plato and Hippocrates, and despises Asclepiades and the Epicureans and the Methodists). Nutton concludes that, ‘faced with these biographical details, all of which have parallels in works which are assuredly Galenic, one can hardly fail to recognise Galen, or else a doctor whose career was remarkably similar to his, even down to its longevity’.

The parallels between *Ther. Pis.* and passages in works by Galen whose authorship has never been in dispute are too exact for coincidence to be advanced as an explanation for them. In addition to those noted by Nutton, note the point made at XIV, p. 221, l. 1–4 about not over-generalising about a phenomenon on the basis of one sense perception only: snow is white and so is quicklime, but it does not follow that as snow is also cold, quicklime must be cold too:

¹ Similarly, Paulus Aegineta, *Epitome*, 7, 3, 18, l. 20–25 (ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ τῆς θηριακῆς ὁ Γαλιηνὸς φησιν τὴν τρίφυλλον τὴν τῷ ὑακίνθῳ ὁμοίαν, ὁπότεν τοῦ ἔαρος ἐγκύμων γενομένη τὸ σπέρμα ὁμοιον ἔχη τῇ ἀγρίᾳ κνήκῳ, ἀφεψομένης αὐτῆς τὸ ζέμα φαλαγγίου μὲν ἢ ἔχεως δῆγματι καταντλούμενον θεραπεύειν αὐτό, ὑγιεῖ δὲ τόπω προσφερόμενον, φησίν, ὁμοιον πάθος ἐργάζεται τοῖς ὑπὸ τινος τούτων δηχθεῖσιν) corresponds to *Ther. Pis.*, XIV, p. 226, l. 19 – p. 227, l. 4 (τὸ γοῦν τρίφυλλον ἢ βοτάνη, ἣτις ὑακίνθῳ ὁμοίωται, ὁπότεν τοῦ ἔαρος ἐγκύμων γένηται, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα ὁμοιον ἔχη τῇ ἀγρίᾳ κνήκῳ, ὅταν τις ἀφεψήσῃ πάνυ, εἴτα τῷ δῆγματι τοῦ φαλαγγίου ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἔχεως τῷ ὕδατι ἐπαντλήσει, ἰᾶται αὐτὸ καὶ εὐθέως ἀνώδυνον ἐργάζεται).

² See also Paulus Aegineta, *Epitome*, 7, 11, l. 2 (wrongly given as 7, 10, l. 2 by Nutton 1991, p. 135), where, however, the attribution to Galen is in a heading and the text is largely from *De theriaca ad Pamphilianum*.

³ Nutton, 1995, pp. 34–35.

οὔτε γὰρ τὴν τίτανον, ὅτι λευκὴ ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἡ χιών, τῇ ὄψει μόνον ὡς ψύχουσαν κρίνειν αὐτάρκες εἶναι νομίζομεν.

We do not think it is satisfactory to conclude judging by sight only that quicklime, because it is white like snow, is cold.

The same point is made with the same example in Galen, *On the Powers of Simple Drugs* I, XI, p. 383, l. 16:

ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἡ χιών τε καὶ ἡ τίτανος τὴν χροιάν ὁμοιώτατα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ἐναντιώτατα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν ἡ αἴσθησις κρίνει.

Snow and quicklime are very similar in colour, but very much opposites in their effects, and the sense of touch detects the opposition.

Equally importantly, the same point is not made using these two substances as examples anywhere else in surviving Greek literature so far as one can tell from the TLG.

Again, compare *Ther. Pis.*, XIV, p. 227, l. 17 – p. 228, l. 1: ὁ γοῦν θαλάττιος λαγωγὸς ἐλκοῖ τὸν πνεύμονα καὶ ἡ κανθαρίς ἰδίως τὴν κύστιν κακοῖ ('for instance the sea hare wounds the lung and the blister beetle specifically damages the bladder') with *On the Composition of Drugs according to Kind* II, XIII, p. 364, l. 1–5:

ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε τὸ σκῶμμα δηλοῖ τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπείρους εἶναι φαρμάκων δυνάμεως, ὥς ἀγνοεῖν ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγωῦ μόνον τῶν πάντων ἐν τῷ σώματι μορίων ἐλκόμενον πνεύμονα, κύστιν δ' αὖ μόνην ὑπὸ τῶν κανθαρίδων.

But this joke shows that those making it are so ignorant of the power of drugs as not to know that the sea hare wounds only the lung out of all the parts of the body, and the blister beetle only the bladder.

Neither fact is stated elsewhere in surviving Greek literature except in late sources almost certainly deriving from Galen.⁴ These are just two examples of close parallels between *Ther. Pis.* and Galen's other works which occur almost on every page of *Ther. Pis.* and which makes it virtually certain that the author either is Galen or

⁴ e.g. Palladius Medicus (6th century), *Commentarii in Hippocratis librum sextum de morbis popularibus*, 2, p. 162, l. 20.

is consciously trying to mimic Galen; so the work is either genuine or a conscious imitation. Labbé stated the three possibilities:

Alterum est, Galenum non uideri eius libri auctorem, sed alium quemdam medicum, qui Galeno superstes fuerit, et sub imperatoribus Seuero et Caracalla theriacam composuerit in usum imperatorum; aut certe ab aliquo nugatore, exercendi stili gratia, ex iis, quae apud Galenum in libris de antidotis legerat.

[Either the work is genuine or] it is the work not of Galen, but of some doctor who succeeded Galen and made up theriac for the use of the emperors under emperors Severus and Caracalla; or of course of some trifle who wished to exercise his pen on the basis of what he had read in [Galen's] *On Antidotes*.⁵

On this latter view, the points raised above in favour of Galenic authorship are neutral, because equally compatible with an author who was Galen, or was not Galen, but wanted to give the impression that he was.

There are, however, some puzzling features of *Ther. Pis.* which call its authenticity into question. We are sadly uninformed as to the state of the debate, when Rota noted its existence in 1565, since he states only that it was 'not without cause'. When Labbé attacks it in 1660, he produces a set of arguments which have virtually no value at all, such as the fact that it contains several words not found elsewhere in Galen (it does, but scores no higher in this respect than *On Prognosis* whose authorship by Galen is undoubted); that it contains false statements about the herbs helenium and trifolium (they are neither obviously false nor contradicted elsewhere in Galen); and that its style is that of a young man, which Galen would not have been when it was written. This is a subjective judgment. Labbé does not attempt to justify either the general claim that a writer's age can be deduced from his style, or the specific claim that the style of *Ther. Pis.* is that of a young man. There are a host of much stronger arguments not addressed at all by Labbé or by anyone else.

My first point is one of ancient history. *Ther. Pis.* (XIV, p. 231, l. 6 – p. 232, l. 2) gives the following anecdote:

⁵ Labbé 1660, p. 26 quoted by Swain 1998, p. 430.

ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἱστορίας τις ἐμήνυσε λόγος ὡς ἄρα πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις τις ἐθέλων καὶ τὸ δυνατόν ἐκ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς τάξεως οὐκ ἔχων, ἄνθρωπος δὲ, φησὶ, Καρχηδόνιος οὗτος, ἐμπλήσας πολλὰς χύτρας θηρίων τῶν ἀναιρεῖν ὀξέως δυναμένων, οὕτως αὐτὰ προσέβαλε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ τὸ πεμπόμενον οὐ νοοῦντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφύλακτοι μένοντες, οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοιαῦτα εἰθισμένα ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις πέμπεσθαι βέλη, ταχέως πίπτοντες ἀπέθνησκον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος τῇ τοιαύτῃ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν πανουργία, ὥσπερ τι καὶ αὐτὸς θηρίον ὑπάρχων, διέφυγε τῶν ἐναντιῶν τὰς χεῖρας, διόπερ οἶμαι, καὶ εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας χρεῖας ὑμῖν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι καὶ τοῖς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχουσιν, ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον, διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐνίοτε γινομένην ἀνάγκην.

I have heard a historical story that someone wanted to go to war with Rome, but did not have the troops to do it with and this man, a Carthaginian, filled many jars with animals whose bite kills instantaneously and shot them at the enemy. And they did not realise what was being shot at them and were off their guard, because these were not the kind of weapon usually shot in war, and quickly fell down and died; and so this man, because of this disgraceful method of waging war as if he himself were some kind of wild beast, escaped the hands of his enemies. So I think your rulers and the commanders of the infantry should have this drug because of the necessity, from time to time, of going to war.

We know this story from other sources, and can identify the parties as Hannibal and Eumenes II of Pergamum; see e.g. Nepos, *Vitae*, Hannibal, 10–11. What is striking, is that the author of *Ther. Pis.* does not make this identification. Galen is proud of his Pergamene heritage. There is no mention of Eumenes elsewhere in the corpus, but on the three occasions he refers to a king of Pergamum, namely Attalus III, he emphasises his link as a fellow Pergamene: he calls him ὁ γοῦν ἡμέτερος γενόμενός ποτε βασιλεὺς Ἀττάλος ('Attalus who was once our king');⁶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀττάλος ('Attalus from our parts');⁷ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἡμῶν τῶν Περγαμηνῶν Ἀττάλου ('Attalus who was king of us Pergamenes').⁸

⁶ Galen, *De Simplicium Medicamentorum* X, XII, p. 251, l. 3–4.

⁷ Galen, *De Antidotis* I, XIV, p. 2, l. 4.

⁸ Galen, *De Compositione Medicamentorum per Genera* II, XIII, p. 416, l. 11–12.

There is no doubt that Eumenes II is a massively important figure in Pergamene history. One of the most conspicuous buildings on the Acropolis is Eumenes' altar of Zeus, which has a magnificent frieze depicting the battle of the gods and giants. On the north frieze is what is thought to be the goddess Nyx or Night getting ready to throw a jar of serpents in what is presumably a reference to the incident we are discussing. It is inconceivable that Galen would not know the identities of the parties in the anecdote. If he did know them, why would he not supply them? The author of *Ther. Pis.* tells other historical anecdotes, and is scrupulous about supplying proper names even for the minor characters. He gives, for example, the names of Cleopatra's maid-servants in the description of her death (XIV, p. 235, l. 18) and the name of Mithridates' servant who had to kill him because of his immunity to poison (XIV, p. 284, l. 11). He is our sole source for this name. He is a writer who likes proper names.

It is not impossible to conceive of reasons for suppressing the names in the anecdote. Eumenes lost the battle. Yet, if the author is embarrassed about that fact, omitting the story altogether would suppress it more effectively; it is not integral to the treatise. The other problem with that argument is that the treatise contains much material intended to curry favour with the Roman emperors. The anecdote does identify the losing side with the Romans (with whom Eumenes was in alliance): if the author were sanitising it for reasons of tact, he would presumably have omitted that identification too.

The next point I want to discuss, where the author of *Ther. Pis.* diverges from Galen, involves the interpretation of Hippocrates. In advising on the appropriate time of year to take theriac, the author of *Ther. Pis.* (XIV, p. 285, l. 10–16 K) says, quoting Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 4, 5:

θερος μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ᾗ, οὐδ' ὅλως αὐτοῦ σοι συμβουλεύω λαμβάνειν. θερμοῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ καταστήματος, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θερμότερον γιγνόμενον βλάπτεται τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τοῦτό γε συνιδὼν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἱπποκράτης τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ κατὰ κύνα φαρμακίας ἐργώδεας εἶναι λέγει. πυρετὸν γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οὗτος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φέρει.

For when it is summer, I do not advise you to take the drug at all. For the weather is hot and the body is harmed by being

made even hotter; knowing this, the most wonderful Hippocrates says that medicines taken before or under the dog star are difficult. For this season mostly brings fever to men.

Leaving Galen on one side for the moment, there is clear disagreement among translators as to what Hippocrates, *Aph.*, 4, 5 actually means. Littré⁹ has ‘pendant la canicule et avant la canicule les évacuations sont laborieuses’. Chadwick and Mann in the Penguin translation¹⁰ have ‘the administration of drugs is attended with difficulty at the rising of the Dog Star and shortly before’. Liddell and Scott *s.v.* *φαρμακεία* say that the primary meaning of *φαρμακεία* is ‘the use of drugs, especially of purgatives’. The two competing translations cannot both be right: either Hippocrates is talking about drugs in general, or he is talking about purgative drugs. In isolation the passage could have either meaning: Liddell and Scott admit either possibility, though tilting the scales towards purgative drugs by use of the word ‘especially’. For the purposes of this paper I am simply going to say that it seems to me that Littré is right and Chadwick and Mann are wrong, and that *Aphorisms* 4 as a whole is clearly about purgative drugs, not about drugs in general. The crucial question for my purposes is not what it actually means, but what Galen thought it meant, and we can answer that very clearly by reference to his commentary on the passage in the *Commentary on Hippocrates’ Aphorisms* (XVIIb, p. 664, l. 1–8):

Ὑπὸ κύνᾳ καὶ πρὸ κυνὸς ἐργώδεις αἱ φαρμακείαι.

Ἐκπεπυρωμένη τε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἡ φύσις οὕσα τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν καθαρτικῶν οὐκ οἶσει δριμύτητα, διὸ καὶ πυρέττουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καθαρθέντων, ἀσθενής τε οὕσα ἡ δύναμις διὰ τὸ καῦμα προσκαταλυθήσεται τῇ καθάρσει.

Under the Dogstar and before the Dogstar *pharmakeia* is troublesome.

This is because our nature is burned up at that time and will not bear the piercing quality arising from purgatives, and for this reason many of those purged at this time run a fever, and the innate strength already being weakened because of the heat will be additionally undone by the purging.

⁹ Littré 1844, p. 503.

¹⁰ Lloyd 1983, p. 216.

Another proof is offered in his explicit statement in commenting on Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 7, 25 (XVIIIa, p. 124, l. 5–9) that

Ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας σπασμὸς θανατῶδες.

Φαρμακοποσίας καὶ φαρμακείας ἰδίως εἴωθεν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης ὀνομάζειν τὰς τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμακείας μόνον.

Spasm arising from the drinking of φαρμακεία is deadly.

Hippocrates had the distinctive habit of using φαρμακοποσία and φαρμακεία to refer exclusively to drugs used to purge.

And again with the cognate verb φαρμακεύεσθαι he correctly says that Hippocrates uses it not for any drug but for purgatives only, in XVIIa, p. 536, l. 1–6.

So the passage of Hippocrates, as understood by Galen in the commentaries on the aphorisms and as intended (in my view) by Hippocrates, apparently fails to support the point which the Piso author wants it to support, because the passage is about purgative drugs and theriac is not a purgative drug. On the contrary, theriac is powerfully anti-purgative to the extent that the Piso author twice advises that the best test of theriac where it is suspected that it is adulterated or past its prime, is to administer to a test subject a purgative and then theriac, and see if purgation occurs. If it does not, the theriac is effective (XIV, p. 269, l. 12–18):

πολλοὶ γοῦν τινες αὐτῆς τὴν δύναμιν κρίναι θέλοντες πρῶτον διδόντες τὶ τῶν καθαρτικῶν φαρμάκων, εἶτα ἐπιδιδόντες τὶ τῆς ἀντιδότου πιεῖν, οὕτως αὐτῆς ποιοῦνται τὴν κρίσιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐτονος καὶ ἀκμαία εἴη, οὐδ' ὅλως ἀφίησι τὴν κάθαρσιν γενέσθαι, ἐκνικῶσα τῷ ἑαυτῆς δυνατῷ τοῦ καθαρτικοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν ἰσχύν.

Many wishing to test its [theriac's] efficacy first administer a purgative and then the antidote [i.e. theriac] and test it that way. For if it is effective and in its prime it completely prevents purgation from taking place, entirely beating the power of the purgative drug by its own strength. But if the man is purged completely as if he had never taken the antidote it is made clear that its strength is gone and it is useless and so cannot overcome the power of the drug.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. also *Ther. Pis.*, XIV, p. 215, l. 12 – p. 216, l. 2.

There is no doubt that with ingenuity this discrepancy can be explained away: the point is, it could be said that the summer is hot and is therefore a bad time to take (a) purgative drugs because they are also heating, and (b) theriac which is not a purgative drug, but is heating for other reasons. The Piso author is merely generalising the point made by Hippocrates. As against that, what we have on the face of it is either a false syllogism (purgatives are drugs; theriac is a drug; theriac is a purgative), or a misunderstanding of Hippocrates on a point which Galen clearly understood correctly. We know the misunderstanding is seductively easy to commit, because scholars as distinguished as Chadwick and Mann¹² have committed it, and we know from Galen's own commentaries that Galen has not. The Piso author seems to take the opposite view to Galen's.

The third point I want to discuss is one of pharmacology, and concerns the discrepancy between the treatment of the type of snake known as the *διψάς*, the thirst snake, and of the remedy called *castoreum*, in *Ther. Pis.* and in other Galenic works whose authorship is not questioned.

To put the point as succinctly as possible, Galen gives a clear and detailed warning in *The Capacities of Simple Drugs* (*SMT*) that some *ἐχιδναί* ('vipers') are *διψάδες*, and are deadly poison to eat. He has first-hand experience of this: ... ἐξ ὧν περ καὶ ἀποθανόντας οἶδα τὸν τε καταφαγόντα τὴν ἐχιδναν (ἣν δὲ ἄρα διψάς) ('... and to those who are overtaken by ceaseless thirst, which I have also known to kill a man who ate a viper – for it was a *διψάς*').¹³ To appreciate the importance of this point it is necessary to bear in mind that the key ingredient of theriac is cooked viper flesh, and if vipers which are also *διψάδες* as understood by Galen are incorporated into theriac, it will be not an antidote, but a poison. Galen reports later in *SMT* (XI, XII, p. 315, l. 10 – p. 317, l. 4) on his detailed investigations as to the relationship between *ἐχιδναί* and *διψάδες*, concluding that the *διψάς* is either a species of *ἐχιδνα* or a normal *ἐχιδνα* at certain times of the year, and warns accordingly:

¹² Lloyd 1983, p. 216.

¹³ Galen, *De Symptomatum Causis* I, VII, p. 135, l. 5–7.

Ἄλλος δέ τις ἀνὴρ πλούσιος οὐχ ἡμεδαπὸς οὗτός γε, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσης Θράκης ἦκεν, ὀνειράτος προτρέψαντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον, εἴτα τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ὄναρ αὐτῷ πίνειν τε τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν φαρμάκου καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ χρίειν ἔξωθεν τὸ σῶμα, μετέπεσεν τὸ πάθος οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εἰς λέπραν, ἐθεραπεύθη τε πάλιν οἷς ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευεν φαρμάκοις καὶ τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν σὰρξ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤκει τῆς ξηραντικῆς δυνάμεως· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔνιοι τῶν φαγόντων αὐτὴν ἐάλωσαν διψεῖ σφοδροτάτῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσαγορεύουσι τὰς ἐχίδνας διψάδας. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τοὺς δηχθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν φασι οὐκ ἐμπίπασθαι πίνοντας, ἀλλὰ διαβρῆγνυσθαι πρότερον ἢ παύσασθαι διψῶντας. Διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰς ἐχίδνας θηρεύοντων, οὓς ὀνομάζουσι Μαρσούς, ἐπυθόμην εἴ τι σημεῖον ἔχοιεν με διδάξαι διακριτικὸν ἐκατέρου τοῦ γένους τῶν ἐχιδνῶν· οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔφασαν εἶναι γένος ἐχιδνῶν διψάδων, ἀλλὰ τὰς παρὰ θαλάττῃ καὶ τόποις ἀλμυρίδα πολλὴν ἔχουσι διαιτωμένας ἀλμυρὰν ἴσχειν τὴν σάρκα, διὸ καὶ κατὰ Λιβύην πολλὰς γίνεσθαι τοιαύτας, ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δ' οὐκ εἶναι διὰ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῆς χώρας. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἤκουσα τῶν Μαρσῶν λεγόντων, οὐ μὴν ἔχω βεβαίως εἰπεῖν εἰτ' ἀληθεύουσι τὸ σῦμπαν εἴτε καὶ ψεύδονται κατὰ τι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν οἷς εἰρήκασι χωρίοις γίνεσθαι τινὰς ἐχίδνας ἀλυκὴν ἔχουσας τὴν σάρκα πιθανώτατον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. Συμμεταβαλλούσας γὰρ οἶδα ταῖς τροφαῖς τὰς τῶν ζώων σάρκας, οὐ μὴν ὥς οὐδὲν ἔστι γένος ἐχιδνῶν διψάδων ἀποφῆνασθαι δύναμαι. Τὸ δ' οὖν ἀσφαλέςτατόν ἐστι φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις χωρίοις ἐχίδνας θηρεύειν εἰς ἐδωδὴν ἢ φαρμάκου κατασκευῆν, ὁποῖόν ἐστι καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ἔνδοξον, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἅπαντες σχεδὸν ἱατροὶ θηριακὴν.

Another man, a rich one, not a native of Pergamum, but from the middle of Thrace, came to Pergamum on the instructions of a dream. The god then sent him a dream telling him both to drink the medicine made from vipers (τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν φαρμάκου) every day and to rub it externally on his body. The disease changed after a few days to leprosy, and this disease in turn was also cured by drugs ordained by the god. This shows what a great drying faculty the flesh of vipers has achieved, since some who have eaten it, have been overcome by very great thirst, and for this reason they call vipers διψάδας, 'thirst snakes'. There are some who say that even those bitten by vipers drink, but are not satisfied, but burst before they can stop drinking. For this reason I asked the snake hunters of Rome whom they call Marsi whether they could tell me of any distinguishing feature by which to recognise the

two types of viper. But they vehemently denied that there is a species of thirst inducing viper (οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔφασαν εἶναι γένος ἐχιδνῶν διψάδων); rather, those which live by the sea and in places with large areas of salt marsh have salty flesh, which is why there are many of them in Libya, but not in Italy because of the dampness of the country. This is what I heard from the Marsi, but I cannot say for sure whether they told the truth in all respects or lied in relation to something. For I find it very credible that there are vipers with salty flesh to be found in the kinds of places they mention, for I know that the flesh of animals is transformed by what they eat, but I cannot say with absolute certainty that there is no such species of viper as the διψάς. So the safest thing is to avoid hunting vipers in this type of area either for food or the preparation of drugs such as the famous one which almost all doctors call theriac.

In *On Antidotes* (*Ant.*) there are warnings about catching vipers in summer (*Ant.* I, XIV, p. 45, l. 5–7) and in coastal areas (*Ant.* I, XIV, p. 46, l. 9–12), because their flesh used as an ingredient in theriac will be διψώδης, ‘thirst-inducing’. In *Ther. Pis.* there is, however, no equivalent warning about the danger of using vipers caught in summer to make theriac.

Similarly consider the advice that the beaver’s testicles, also called *castoreum*, cure spasms in *Ther. Pis.*, XIV, p. 241, l. 6–7: οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάστορος ὄρχεις ὁμοίως πινόμενοι σπασμούς ιῶνται.

Compare the following from *SMT* XI (XII, p. 338, l. 9 – p. 339, l. 2), stating that in some cases *castoreum* cures spasms, but in others it has ‘the most opposite effect’ and that most doctors (including, apparently, the author of *Ther. Pis.*) are ignorant of the distinction between the types of cases:

Ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἱατρῶν, ἐν τῇ τοῦ καστορίου χρήσει προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῷ τρέμειν ἢ σπᾶσθαι τι μόριον, ἢ ἀναίσθητον ἢ ἀκίνητον εἶναι, ἢ δυσαίσθητον ἢ δυσκίνητον, μὴ γινώσκοντες ἐπόμενα τοιαῦτα συμπτώματα διαθέσει σώματος ἀνομοίαις. Ἀλλὰ σύ γε παρ’ Ἱπποκράτους μαθὼν ἐπὶ πληρώσει τε καὶ κενώσει γίγνεσθαι σπασμόν, ἔνθα μὲν χρή κενῶσαι τὰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐν τοῖς νεύροις περιεχόμενα, καὶ πίνειν δίδου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δέρματος ἐξῶθεν ἐπιτίθει καστόριον. ἔνθα δὲ δι’ ὑπερβάλλουσιν ξηρότητα γίγνεται σπασμός, ἐναντιώτατον εἶναι γίγνωσκε τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο.

But most doctors in using *castoreum* pay attention only to the question whether a body part is trembling or going into spasm, not knowing whether the part is without feeling and immovable or hard to perceive and to move, not knowing that such states of affairs arise from dissimilar dispositions of the body. But you who have learnt from Hippocrates that spasm arises both from emptiness and from fullness, should both give *castoreum* to drink and apply it externally to the skin, when it is necessary to drain unnatural contents from the nerves. But when spasm results from an excess of dryness you should know that this drug has absolutely the opposite effect.

Now it could be argued in either case that the requirement of absolute consistency within Galen's pharmacology is unrealistically stringent, but the standard is set very high by Galen himself. If we apply his principles in both cases, we can diagnose in *Ther. Pis.* the twin evils of *ἄγνοια*, 'ignorance', and failure to observe *διορισμός*, 'distinction', between similar or related but different things, against which Galen warns repeatedly in his pharmacological writings.¹⁴ In the case of the *διψάς/ἔχιδνα* issue, the inaccuracy entails a high risk of the patient dying. In the case of *castoreum*, the consequences of misprescription are less clear cut, but the effect of prescribing it in the wrong case is *ἐναντιώτατον*¹⁵ to the effect in appropriate cases.

Secondly, there is an anecdote about Piso's son at XIV, p. 212, l. 16 – p. 213, l. 8 and again at p. 219, l. 8–16. Piso's son incurs some kind of injury as a result of riding a horse, and is successfully treated with theriac applied as a plaster. We are offered two incompatible versions of the same incident. In the first, surgery takes place on Piso's son – *ἐδεήθη καὶ τομῆς* in my view unambiguously implies that surgery actually occurred; it would be a different matter if the verb were in the imperfect, when it could in theory be followed by 'but the [apparent] need was averted ...' (cf. the imperfect *ἤπειγε* at the beginning of the passage below). In the second, the need for surgery is averted by the use of a theriac plaster (XIV, p. 219, l. 11–16):

¹⁴ von Staden 1997, *passim*; van der Eijk 1997, *passim*.

¹⁵ Galen, *SMT* XI, XII, p. 339, l. 2.

Ἦπειγε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἀποκριθῆναι τὸ ἐγκείμενον ὑγρὸν, δόντες αὐτοὶ τὸ φάρμακον ἀπὸ ἑλλείψαν ἡμᾶς τῆς μεγάλης ἐπ' αὐτῷ φροντίδος· ἐπιτεθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ ἔμπλαστρος διεῖλε μὲν τὸ ἐπικείμενον σῶμα ὀξύτερον τῆς τομῆς, ἐκένωσε δὲ πᾶν τὸ ὑγρὸν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ὥς μηκέτ' ἔχειν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον τὰς ἀλγηδόνας.

There was an urgent need to separate off the liquid which had collected, but they, giving him the drug, freed us from our great concern over him; for the plaster separated off the flesh above the wound more rapidly than surgery and drained off the overlying liquid, freeing the boy from the resulting discomfort.

The natural conclusions to draw from the fact that these two alternative versions of the story coexist are, first, that the work is an unfinished draft, and, secondly, that it is at least in respect of this story – which provides the framework for the entire treatise – a fiction, since only an author of fiction has the choice of two incompatible versions of the story where he is ostensibly an eye-witness in both versions. If the story is a fiction, it is possible that the narrator is also a fictional construct.

Certain stylistic features stand out as untypical of Galen on an initial reading of the treatise – that is, prior to any word-counting or other technical analysis; their untypicality can often be verified by word counts in the TLG. The following idiosyncrasies of the text are confirmed by TLG word counts:

First of all, the use of the particle γοῦν is anomalously high: it constitutes 0.2% of the word count. In the 48 Galen treatises in the TLG of over 10,000 words the next highest score is 0.1% or exactly half as high.

Secondly, the word ἴνα occurs with a strikingly high frequency compared to other Galenic tracts. The word appears 33 times in the 13,556 words of the treatise, a frequency of 0.24% of the total word count. The next highest count among the treatises of over 10,000 words is 0.07% (less than one third as high). The treatise has the highest rate use of the word ὥσπερ of any of the treatises of over 10,000 words.

These results need treating with caution: the frequency of γοῦν is partly dependent on the subject matter; it is used to introduce anecdotal illustrations, and the treatise contains a high number of these. If the subject matter is unusual in either of these

respects, that in itself may be a valid argument about authenticity. Yet we must take care not to ‘double count’ stylistic points if and to the extent that they result only from atypical subject matter.

Thirdly, the treatise is anomalous in its use of οἶδαμεν instead of ἵσμεν as first person plural present indicative of οἶδα, ‘I know’. Οἶδαμεν occurs three times in *Ther. Pis.* and seven times elsewhere in Galen, as against 175 occurrences of ἵσμεν (which occurs in *Ther. Pis.* only in a quotation from Hippocrates, viz XIV, p. 228, l. 14). Analysis of figures provided by the TLG shows that down to the time of Galen ‘mainstream’ Greek prose writers either use ‘ἵσμεν’ exclusively (Thucydides, Isocrates, Xenophon, Aeschines, Anaximenes, Polybius, Plutarch) or greatly prefer ἵσμεν to οἶδαμεν (Plato uses the words in the ratio 65, 2, Aristotle 50, 3, Demosthenes 10, 4). The earliest exceptions to this rule are the Septuagint and the New Testament which contain respectively 11 and 43 instances of οἶδαμεν and no instances at all of ἵσμεν. There follows a marked increase in the use of οἶδαμεν among Christian writers and in some cases a preponderance; e.g. Origen has a ratio ἵσμεν: οἶδαμεν of 53, 77, Athanasius 20, 54. The figures for *Ther. Pis.* are not conclusive – the concentration of instances of οἶδαμεν may be mere chance –, but nor are they to be dismissed out of hand.

To conclude, there is no obvious reason why anyone in the two or three centuries after Galen’s death would have wished to forge *On Theriac to Piso* and attribute it to Galen. It makes on the face of it no exceptional medical claim which a later doctor might wish to advance with Galen’s suppositious support; its doctrines and recipes are by and large a rehash of material found in *SMT* and *On Antidotes*, with a few unobvious errors, some of which I have pointed out. The only respect in which it is unusual, is the degree of flattery, indeed sycophancy, towards the imperial family in its opening chapters. There is an argument, which I think is without merit, to the effect that this sycophancy is inconsistent with Galen’s claims to probity and independence. Such claims should not be taken seriously when made by the speaker on his own behalf, and anyway Galen elsewhere is frank about the fact that the relationship between doctors and emperors is such that, when women of the imperial family or

the emperors themselves (βασιλικαὶ γυναῖκες ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτοὶ)¹⁶ demand of doctor services which are cosmetic and not medical, it is not practicable for the doctor to refuse them by telling them to learn the distinction between cosmetics per se and the cosmetic part of medicine (οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἀρνεῖσθαι διδάσκοντας διαφέρειν τὴν κομμωτικὴν τοῦ κοσμητικοῦ μέρους τῆς ἰατρικῆς).¹⁷ The prudent doctor knuckles down and learns the rudiments of cosmetics. Therefore we should not question the authenticity of *Ther. Pis.* on the basis that it suggests a deviation by Galen from his core beliefs in pursuit of good relations with Severus and Caracalla. What we can say, however, is how unusual the treatise is, if considered as a genuine work of Galen. He does not merely flatter, he flatters in a manner which in two respects completely contradicts his self-presentation elsewhere. First, he precisely inverts the usual arrangement in his case histories whereby other doctors err, Galen sees the right answer and onlookers are astonished at his skill. As Nutton points out: ‘Galen’s case histories are artfully presented to show his own abilities and the failings of others, and, occasionally, to link his own actions with those of great names from the past. One may suspect that the differences between Galen and his colleagues are here sharpened to make a good story and to put on display the philanthropic, philosophical and medically infallible Galen. He is rarely if ever wrong ...’.¹⁸ This judgment is borne out by Mattern’s recent and virtually comprehensive study of Galen’s case histories:¹⁹ with the sole exception of *Ther. Pis.*, there is no case history in Galen in which a remedy proposed by someone other than Galen in Galen’s presence is successful. This one exceptional case (the second version of the history of Piso’s son) has all the elements of a Galenic success story, i.e. critical situation, first set of doctors on the wrong track, dramatically new approach adopted, miraculous recovery, except that Galen is either on the wrong side of the argument

¹⁶ Galen, *De Compositione Medicamentarum secundum Locos* I, XII, p. 435, l. 2.

¹⁷ Galen *De Compositione Medicamentarum secundum Locos* I, XII, p. 435, l. 4–5.

¹⁸ Nutton 2005, p. 227.

¹⁹ Mattern 2008.

or uncommitted, and it is the emperors who decide on the new approach and apply the plaster rather than allowing the surgery to proceed. The decision is even ‘linked with [the actions] of great names from the past’,²⁰ in that the switch from surgery to the use of a drug plaster calls to mind Hippocrates:

‘Ὅκόσα φάρμακα οὐκ ἰῆται, σίδηρος ἰῆται· ὅσα σίδηρος οὐκ ἰῆται, πῦρ ἰῆται· ὅσα δὲ πῦρ οὐκ ἰῆται, ταῦτα χρὴ νομίζειν ἀνίατα.

What drugs do not cure steel does; what steel does not cure fire does; but what fire does not cure we must consider incurable.²¹

Secondly he praises the emperors including Caracalla (even though a debauched teenager; see Cassius Dio, 76, 7, 1–3) as practising medicine ‘like the best doctors who have spent their whole lives practising the art’.²² This is a flat contradiction of Galen’s view that years of study are required to train a doctor properly (see e.g. *The Best Doctor is also a Philosopher*, passim). Swain²³ refers to ‘the markedly more authoritarian regime of the Severans’ as explaining Galen’s departure from his normal principles, and says that *Ther. Pis.* ‘shows that Galen was susceptible to pressures just as others were’. That may be right, but the pressures are purely a matter of speculation. Indeed, Swain expressly says that ‘*for reasons unknown* (emphasis added) Galen intended [*Ther. Pis.*] as a complimentary piece to a man of public affairs who enjoyed a close relationship with the ruling family’.²⁴

The question what the motive would be for producing *Ther. Pis.* in deliberate imitation of Galen is less compelling as an argument for Galenic authorship, once we accept that the motive for writing the piece is just as much in issue if Galen is the author.

²⁰ Nutton 2005, p. 227.

²¹ See Hippocrates, *Aph.*, 7, 87. Galen by implication rejects this aphorism as inauthentic (*In Hippocratis Aphorismos*, XVIIIa, p. 194, l. 8), but the tripartite division of medicine is found in *De Compositione Medicamentorum per Genera* VI, XIII, p. 866, l. 10–16: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐστὶ τὸ ἤδη λεπτῶδες ἰαθῆναι, δεῦτερος ἂν εἴη σκοπός, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνιάτων ἐστὶ κοινός, ἐκκόψαι τοῦ σώματος τὸ ἀνιάτον. Εκκόπτεται δὲ ποτὲ μὲν σιδήρῳ, ποτὲ δὲ πυρὶ, ποτὲ δὲ φαρμάκῳ ἥτοι καυστικοῖς ἢ διαφορητικοῖς τε ἅμα καὶ ῥυπτικοῖς, ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ προκειμένον νῦν.

²² Galen, *Ther. Pis.*, XIV, p. 218, l. 12–16.

²³ Swain 1998, p. 432.

²⁴ Swain 1998, p. 431.

If it is legitimate to speculate that Galen needed to retrieve his own reputation for reasons we know nothing about, it is equally legitimate to speculate that a later writer wished to sully that same reputation, again for reasons which are unknowable, or to produce a variation on a theme of Galen's *On Antidotes*, just as Labbé²⁵ says, for the sake of exercising his pen.

Finally, it is noteworthy how from Labbé onwards, scholars who have addressed the authenticity issue have had a specific motive for doing so. Labbé²⁶ wants the treatise to be spurious, because he wants to establish that Galen died in 199; his opponents want it to be genuine, because it shows Galen as being still alive in 204. This adversarial use of the treatise has perhaps obscured the fact that agnosticism is a perfectly respectable position on this question.

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Abstract

The pharmacological treatise *On Theriac To Piso* has been attributed to Galen since at the latest the 7th century CE. Autobiographical details in the text and close parallels between passages in the text and passages in other pharmacological works securely ascribed to Galen make it improbable that the text merely appears by coincidence to be Galenic. On the other hand the text also diverges from Galen in important matters of pharmacology and the interpretation of Hippocrates. Moreover, analysis of the text by word count establishes clear stylistic differences between the text and the rest of the Galenic corpus. The best explanation of the combination of parallels to, and differences from, Galen exhibited by the text is that it constitutes a deliberate attempt to deceive the reader into thinking it is by Galen when in fact it is not.

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THE CREATION OF AUTHORITY IN PSEUDO-PYTHAGOREAN TEXTS AND THEIR RECEPTION IN LATE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY¹

What we know about ancient Pythagoreanism is not restricted to the authentic works written by Pythagoras or the early Pythagoreans. In fact, according to several sources, Pythagoras only transmitted his teachings to his disciples orally.² It was not until the 2nd and 3rd generations of Pythagoreans, which included Philolaus of Croton or Archytas of Tarentum, that we find a well-attested written tradition.³ Indeed, after the extinction of the ancient Pythagorean associations in the 4th century BC, we only find (apparently) isolated, more or less influential personalities, who either defined themselves or later came to be defined as Pythagoreans. The most impressive production of Pythagorean writings that were composed by or transmitted under the name of Pythagoras or early Pythagoreans come from the Imperial age, although it is highly unlikely that Pythagorean communities or a specific Pythagorean identity survived up to this time.⁴ As Zeller pointed out,⁵ however, the production of Pythagorean texts along with

¹ I thank Sean Winkler for help with the English.

² Some sources tell a different history: for instance, Diogenes Laertius (8, 6) states that anyone who claims that Pythagoras left any written work behind is joking (*παίζοντες*). For a discussion of the sources and an overview of the ancient debate on whether Pythagoras authored any writings, see Burkert 1972a, esp. pp. 218–23 and Centrone 2000a, esp. pp. 431–48.

³ For a discussion on genuine fragments and on Philolaus and Archytas generally speaking, see Huffman 1993 and Huffman 2005.

⁴ Although, according to some scholars, not impossible: see Dörrie 1963; and more recently Macris 2006, p. 79. For the opposite opinion, see Burkert 1961, pp. 232–33 and Centrone 2000a, pp. 437–38.

⁵ Zeller 1869, pp. 235–36.

Pythagoras' authority seem to increase the further we move away from the first generations of Pythagoreans. The pseudepigraphic character of several Pythagorean texts from the Hellenistic and Imperial ages was proven in the 20th century. In Antiquity, a considerable part of the pseudo-Pythagorean literature contributed to the rise of a Pythagorean 'manner'⁶ of understanding and explaining the world, which is considerably different from the original, ancient Pythagorean philosophy, at least according to the sources we do have.

We do not know exactly why the pseudepigraphic production of Pythagorean texts came about. We can assume, though, that the increasing production of Pythagorean writings corresponded to a renewed interest in Pythagoras and Pythagorean teaching, which can be traced approximately to the early Imperial age.⁷ The absence of original Pythagorean writings – at least on particular themes that would have been crucial at the time that the forgeries were produced – would have encouraged the production of apocryphal texts. Also the famous commitment to secrecy concerning Pythagoras' doctrine, which the adepts of the school were supposed to respect, would have created excellent conditions for forgers. It would have been possible for them to claim that the sudden appearance of Pythagorean writings was due to the revelation of ancient texts that had previously been kept secret by Pythagoras' direct disciples. The first quotations from Pythagorean apocryphal literature known to us today come from the first centuries of the Imperial age.⁸ It is difficult to give a reliable and precise date for these texts. Moreover, the pseudo-Pythagorean literature is extremely variegated. It includes collections of precepts, letters, and poems along with doxographical accounts and philosophical treatises. This variety is most likely due to the fact that different forgers had different aims and that they probably wrote in different periods. Ultimately, any forgery bears the stamp of the spirit of the time in which it was composed: this is apparent

⁶ See Simplicius, *In Cat.*, 8, p. 6, l. 29: κατὰ τὸ Πυθαγόρειον ἔθος; for an analogous statement see Proclus, *In Tim.*, 1, p. 1, l. 5–16.

⁷ Cf. Centrone 1990, pp. 41–44.

⁸ The first quotation of ps.-Timaeus Locrus' *On the Nature of the World and the Soul* is in Nicomachus of Gerasa (c. 60 – c. 120 BC), *Ench. Armon.*, ed. Jan, p. 260, l. 12; for other testimonies see Centrone 2000a, p. 450.

in their literary form or in their internal and encrypted references.⁹ Pythagorean literature, then, is not the result of a single tradition but *a combination of several traditions, emerging from different contexts, responding to different problems and promoting different theories, which are not always and not necessarily compatible*.¹⁰

In this paper, I would like to concentrate on a coherent and rather homogeneous group of philosophical apocryphal texts: the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean treatises. I will investigate the methods and theoretical implications of the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts in particular by analysing a set of issues in, what is probably the most famous pseudo-Pythagorean treatise, Timaeus Locrus' *On the Nature of the World and the Soul*,¹¹ a text based on Plato's *Timaeus*. I contend that the aim of ps.-Timaeus was most likely to 'reveal' the ancient Pythagorean model of Plato's dialogue. After that, I will consider some aspects of the positive reception of ps.-Timaeus' text among Neoplatonic commentators along with their general approach regarding the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts.

It is my view that the composition of – at least some of the – Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts originated from a need to offer a specific interpretation of the Platonic dialogues.¹² Moreover, I will suggest that the pseudo-Pythagorean texts created a new 'Pythagorean' authority. For the first time (as far as we know), they provided authoritative, textual resources for both Plato and Aristotle on ancient Pythagoreanism. By doing so, they provided confirmation of the idea that it is possible to integrate Aristotle's philosophy into Plato's. In this vein, the Doric pseudo-Pythagoreans also confer authority to their philosophical interpretation of Plato (and Aristotle). This approach was met favourably by Neoplatonic commentators, in particular those who sought to harmonize Plato's and Aristotle's theories. Compared to the pseudo-Pythagorean texts, the Neoplatonic approach was based on

⁹ Burkert 1972a, p. 26.

¹⁰ Bonazzi 2013a, p. 385.

¹¹ Περὶ φύσιος κόσμου καὶ ψυχῆς is the title quoted by Iamblichus (cf. Iamb., *In Nicom. arithm. introd.*, ed. Pistelli, p. 105, l. 12) and accepted in Marg's critical edition, whereas the manuscripts use the form Περὶ ψυχῆς κόσμου καὶ φύσιος. Cf. Marg 1972, pp. 76–78; Centrone 1982, p. 293 n. 1.

¹² See also Ulacco 2017, pp. 7–16.

a more systematic and thoroughly exegetical work on Aristotle's and Plato's texts.

1. *The Doric pseudo-Pythagorean Texts: Aims, Methods, and Strategies*

A number of the pseudo-Pythagorean texts are written in an artificial Doric Greek. The intention behind this was to imitate the ancient dialect used in Magna Graecia at the time that the first Pythagoreans were active.¹³

Using this language, however, was not the only strategy that the pseudo-Pythagoreans adopted to convince their audience of the authority of the texts.

In most cases, the texts were not attributed to Pythagoras himself, but to several ancient Pythagoreans like Philolaus, Ocellus, Brotinus, Timaeus Locrus and, most prominently, Archytas of Tarentum. The aim here was most likely to suggest that there was a unique Pythagorean tradition of truth that was kept alive over a series of generations.

Among the texts transmitted through the manuscript tradition, we find ps.-Timaeus Locrus' *On the Nature of the World and of the Soul*, which consists of a interpretative summary of

¹³ See Baltes 1972, pp. 12–19. A detailed discussion about the use of archaising Doric in epic and prose can be found in Thesleff 1961, pp. 77–96. According to Thesleff, some pseudo-Pythagorean texts were composed in Magna Graecia as early as the 4th century BC, when Doric Greek was supposed to have been used in literature. Nowadays, however, scholars generally agree that the 'doricisation' or 'hyper-doricism' of the pseudo-Pythagorean texts was a form of literary imitation that does not imply the existence of pre-existing Doric literature. See Cassio 2000, who explains the introduction of Doric and, in general, of hyper-dialecticism as a reaction to the diffusion of the *koiné*, which started in the 4th century BC. According to Cassio, the philologists of the Imperial age saw the risk of a decline of the original linguistic forms and attempted to underline the presence of the dialect by means of hyper-dialectic forms instead of the ordinary forms. Cassio states that the ancients were able to recognize the artificial forms of the dialect, but did not react against them. On the contrary, the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts were acclaimed not only for their moral content, but also for their magnificent λέξις (*style*): see e.g. Dionysius Halicar. *De imit.*, ed. Radermacher & Usener, p. 210, l. 11; Cassio 2000, pp. 160–61. The use of the Doric dialect may alternately have been a literary strategy to imitate an ancient literary model, in line with the classicist tendencies that shaped the beginning of the Imperial age (for which see Dihle 1989, pp. 62–65 and 73). If this is correct, it remains very difficult to determine the literary model that the pseudo-Pythagoreans were supposedly imitating.

Plato's *Timaeus*, as well as ps.-Archytas' *On the Whole System* [*scil. of Categories*], which is based on Aristotle's *Categories* and ps.-Ocellus' *On the Nature of the Universe*. Some of the writings have only been preserved in fragments transmitted by Stobaeus and Simplicius.¹⁴ In addition to the language, the Doric pseudo-Pythagoreans share an emphatic style, achieved among other things by means of poetic language, despite their being prose texts. But what is more important is that these texts exhibit a common philosophical doctrine. It is very difficult to identify uniquely Pythagorean tenets. More conspicuous is the concerted attempt to integrate elements from Aristotle's works – especially from the *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *On the Heavens* and *Categories* – with Platonic and ancient Academic doctrines. Moreover, the authors often adopted Hellenistic – specifically Stoic and Epicurean – terminology. In these cases, the authors do not restrict themselves to adopting technical terms from Hellenistic philosophy. They also integrate the doctrinal aspects implied by these adopted terms in their own philosophical perspective. This operation results in a homogeneous and, to some extent, syncretistic worldview, where each element of reality – physical, cosmological, psychological and ethical – is traced back to the interaction between 2 principles: a principle of determination and a principle of indefiniteness. The subjects discussed are presented in a scholastic way, often by way of systematisations and classifications.¹⁵ Despite their artificial language and their being clearly inspired by Plato and Aristotle, the ancients never questioned their authenticity.¹⁶

Late ancient philosophers, like Proclus and Simplicius, who wrote commentaries on Plato's and Aristotle's works, frequently refer to the allegedly 'Pythagorean' Ur-Text of the *Timaeus*, supposedly written by Timaeus Locrus. They also cite Ocellus Lucanus and Archytas, whom they considered to be original

¹⁴ For a complete list of pseudo-Pythagorean texts, see Thesleff 1961, pp. 8–24.

¹⁵ Centrone 2014, pp. 319–20.

¹⁶ See n. 12. For the Neoplatonic approach toward these pseudepigraphic texts, see Müller 1969; Moraux 1974. An exception is Themistius (see Boethius, *In Cat.*, 1, PL 64, col. 162A = test. 4 in Szlezák 1972, p. 30), who states that the Archytas who wrote the treatise *On the Whole System* was not the Archytas who lived during Plato's time, but actually a Peripatetic philosopher. Themistius' aim was probably to react against Iamblichus' 'pythagorizing' way of commenting on Aristotle; see Chiaradonna 2012, p. 180.

sources for Plato and Aristotle in the domains of logic, physics, and theology. This idea can be traced back to Iamblichus, who considers the pseudo-Pythagorean texts the epitome of the ancient Pythagorean mastery of all domains of study and values them for their language and archaic style.¹⁷ That is why Iamblichus introduced these texts, invested with high authority, into the Neoplatonic program of studies.¹⁸ H. Thesleff's edition of pseudo-Pythagorean texts in 1965 has initiated a series of studies.¹⁹ As a result, there is now a growing consensus on an approximate date for the pseudo-Pythagorean corpus, namely the period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. This date is based on certain affinities between the pseudo-Pythagoreans and other philosophical tendencies of the first Imperial age, as can be witnessed particularly in the work of the Platonists Eudorus and Philo of Alexandria, whose interest in Pythagoreanism is well-documented.²⁰

The pseudo-Pythagorean texts raise a number of interesting questions: for instance, who talks behind the mask of the alleged authors, what audience are they talking to and why?²¹ What did these authors want to achieve by presenting themselves as ancient Pythagoreans? The idea that they were simply looking to profit from a well-respected name or that they had a general cultural interest, that in most cases may be at the origins of the production of literary forgeries,²² does not suffice to elucidate the rise of such a specific and rich philosophical literature. One thing that cannot be called into question is the fact that the authors of these texts were motivated by the Pythagorean leanings of Plato himself and, even more so, by Early Academics.²³ The latter projected onto

¹⁷ Iambl., *Vita Pythagorica*, 157.

¹⁸ Cf. Macris 2000 and 2009; more recently Taormina 2012.

¹⁹ Baltes 1972; Szlezák 1972; Centrone 1990; Ulacco 2017.

²⁰ See Simpl. *In Phys.*, 9, p. 181, l. 7–19. Cf. Dörrie 1976; Bonazzi 2005 and 2013b.

²¹ Cf. Burkert 1972b, who defines these texts as a puzzle (*Rätsel*) to solve, p. 25.

²² See Speyer 1971, esp. pp. 33–43.

²³ Centrone, 2000b, esp. pp. 158–68. B. Centrone thinks that the pseudo-Pythagorean attitude, like the general renaissance of Pythagoreanism in the first century BC (so-called Neopythagoreanism), can be traced back to a Platonic and Academic 'orthodoxy', which further ingrained the tendency among Plato's

Ancient Pythagoreanism doctrines which they had developed themselves; in particular, the doctrine of two principles, the One and the indefinite Dyad.²⁴ In this way, they conferred a brand of authority upon their own doctrines and elicited a sense of continuity between Platonism and Pythagoreanism. As W. Burkert notoriously demonstrated, most of our testimonies on Pythagoreanism later than the Ancient Academy are, in fact, based on Platonic doctrines.²⁵ Why, then, go back to the Ancient Academy at the beginning of the Imperial Age?

It has already been pointed out that the extinction of the institutional Academy in 88–86 BC played an important role in the ‘birth’ of a dogmatic Platonism.²⁶ As Cicero testifies,²⁷ the appeal to the *ueteres* (*Ancients*) at the beginning of the Imperial age became instrumental to rewriting a genealogy, in order to provide justification for a specific, dogmatic interpretation of Plato’s

first successors to attribute the origins of the academic theory of principles to the Pythagoreans. Centrone questions the validity of the label ‘Neopythagoreanism’ because of the impossibility of distinguishing Platonic from Neopythagorean theories in Imperial philosophy. Recently G. Staab (who actually does not deal with the pseudo-Pythagorean treatises) argues for acknowledging a more distinctive role to the ‘neo-Pythagoreans’ within imperial Platonism: [...] *der Pythagoreismus [kann] als ‘Konfession’ innerhalb des kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus bezeichnet werden*; see Staab 2009, p. 57.

²⁴ See Porphyry’s verdict in *Vita Phyt.*, 53, ed. Nauck, p. 61, l. 13–62. l. 1.

²⁵ See Burkert 1972a, esp. pp. 15–28. According to Burkert, Aristotle was the only reliable witness to ancient Pythagoreanism, being the only author who clearly separated it from Platonism, cf. e.g. Arist., *Metaph.* A, 6, 987a29–988a17. Zhmud 2012 (ch. 12) elaborates a completely different position. Denying that the Ancient Academy developed its own philosophy in line with the early Pythagoreans, Zhmud stresses the role played by Aristotle in the creation of a link between early Pythagoreans and the Ancient Academy. He suggests that in the passages where Aristotle distinguishes Plato’s philosophy from Pythagoreanism, he actually creates a link between the two, a connection that the Early Platonists (probably also the pseudo-Pythagoreans) recognized and developed.

²⁶ Cf. Hadot 1987. Antiochus of Ascalon (130–68 BC) played an important role, cf. J. Glucker 1978 and Donini 1986. For the philosophy of Antiochus cf. Sedley 2012. Antiochus was the first Platonic philosopher after the extinction of the Academy to be interested in the Ancient Academy for the purpose of proposing a dogmatic reading of Plato against the skeptical outlook of the Hellenistic Academy. He also tried to use Aristotle in order to systematize Plato’s dialogues, by including him among the ‘Ancients’. See Bonazzi 2012. For the introduction of the designation ‘Platonic’ instead of ‘Academic’ (which became the designation of the skeptical interpretation of Plato) see Bonazzi 2002.

²⁷ Cicero, *Ac. Prior.*, 14.

dialogues and, therefore, to establish a philosophical identity. In particular, the appeal to the Academy of Speusippus and Xenocrates is the hallmark of a dogmatic interpretation of Plato.

Should we recognize a similar endeavour in the pseudo-Pythagorean texts? And, if yes, why should the appeal to the ancient Academy not suffice for Platonic philosophers who were in search of a dogmatic philosophical identity? Why go back to the Pythagoreans? There is still one even more intriguing question: why was Plato's authority not enough?²⁸

Taking into account our preliminary remarks, the most plausible answer would be that the Doricising pseudo-Pythagoreans had the aim of enforcing a dogmatic interpretation of Plato's doctrines and to support it with authority from Pythagoreanism. The archaic patina adorning those texts was intended to support the view that most Platonic doctrines had already been conceived (in an archaic style) by the Ancient Pythagoreans. I think however, that something more could be added. The aim of the pseudo-Pythagoreans was probably very close to the approach adopted by the Platonists of the Post-Hellenistic age: they suggest not just that Plato's philosophy was authoritative,²⁹ but argue, rather, that the source of Plato's philosophy is a source of truth to the very extent that it has an ancient pedigree.³⁰

Just the hypothesis of a 'return' to the Ancient Academy and to a dogmatic interpretation of Plato's dialogues, fails however to explain the factual existence of Doric pseudo-Pythagorean literature. While this theory may say a great deal about the likely origin of these texts, it does not account for the unique role that these texts played at the beginning of the Imperial age. Nor does it explain what the reception of these texts actually accomplished. Moreover, it does not address the philosophical interest of these texts, if there are any, nor does it address the specifics

²⁸ More precisely, the Platonists wanted to establish the epistemic authority of Plato in each domain: this amounts to claiming that Plato had answers to every problem as well as the idea that the dogmatic answer, contrary to a sceptical or a relativistic answer, was the right one. For an analysis of the concept of 'epistemic authority' in ancient philosophy see Opsomer & Ulacco 2016.

²⁹ Cf. Sedley 1997.

³⁰ Cf. Boys-Stones 2001, esp. pp. 99–122; and Van Nuffelen 2011, esp. pp. 1–24.

of the influence that they had on Platonism. In order to answer these questions, I want to address one further issue: What were the theoretical issues involved in those texts? The Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts are, indeed, of great historical and philosophical interest. An in-depth study of the doctrinal issues involved will shed light on the aims, methods and the reason for their successful reception in the late ancient philosophers. As we shall see, these authors do not limit themselves to a mere repetition of what the Early Academics did. They quite interestingly combine features of Academic with Aristotelian philosophy, thereby opening compelling new philosophical perspectives. Indeed, they created a new genealogy from Pythagoras to Plato by means of writings which did not exist up to that time. Finally, they actually included Aristotle in this genealogy.³¹

In this contribution, I want to suggest that while the pseudo-Pythagorean texts were most likely originally produced in order to corroborate the authority of Plato – that is, the dogmatic interpretation of Plato's dialogues – they, in fact, achieved a great deal more. On the basis of an exegetical approach to Plato, they constructed what was in fact a new source of authority. By creating a corpus, a canon of original Pythagorean texts – which was probably meant to be taken for the archaic model not only for Plato, but also for Aristotle –, these authors justified a very specific interpretation of Plato. In other words, they established the possibility for integrating Aristotle's thought into Plato's by finding a common origin in a tradition of truth that began with Pythagoras. This possibility was not immediately realized, but would become crucial in Neoplatonic philosophy. Thus, the Doric *pseudepigrapha* are related to the history of the interpretation of Plato and Aristotle and they bridge a gap, not so much in the history of Pythagoreanism but, rather, in that of Platonism.³²

³¹ Cf. Donini 2013. Donini suggests that the pseudo-Pythagorean texts and Eudorus contribute to the creation of the genealogy 'Pythagoras – Plato – Aristotle' (which Plutarch reports and uses).

³² As suggested in a recent paper by M. Bonazzi, see Bonazzi 2013a, pp. 385–86.

2. *The Ur-text of Plato's Timaeus: Timaeus Locrus' On the Nature of the World and of the Soul*

The treatise entitled *On the Nature of the World and the Soul* is attributed to a figure known in Antiquity as Timaeus of Locri, the eponymous (and probably fictional) character of Plato's *Timaeus*. Plato never makes it explicit that Timaeus was a Pythagorean.³³ According to Cicero's testimony, Plato studied with Timaeus,³⁴ while according to some Hellenistic sources, Plato composed his *Timaeus* on the basis of a Pythagorean book purchased at a high price from Philolaus.³⁵ Therefore it would have been obvious for an ancient readership to assume that 'Timaeus Locrus' text was exactly that book, and that is probably what the set-up of the text is meant to suggest. The text paraphrases Plato's *Timaeus* from 27c to 92c, containing the account of the ordering of the body of the world, of the world soul, the elemental bodies, the human body and the human soul. The author summarizes the text and sometimes modifies the order of Plato's argumentation, offering (whether consciously or not) an original interpretation of Platonic theories. Although it cannot be considered a commentary strictly speaking and does not presents itself as such, the treatise can certainly be taken as the result of an early exegetical activity on Plato's *Timaeus* and it achieves exactly what a commentary is supposed to achieve, namely that the readers understand the original text in a particular fashion.

Nowadays, scholars generally agree that TL's treatise³⁶ is an apocryphal work composed most likely between the 1st cen-

³³ See Nails 2002, p. 293, who provides a most exhaustive account of 'Timaeus of Locri Epizephyrii', managing to tell the reader everything there is to know about the person in less than 20 lines.

³⁴ Cicero also states that Plato travelled to Italy, and met a number of other Pythagoreans learning their doctrines, cf. *Fin.*, 5, 85; *Resp.*, 1, 16. See also *Tusc.*, 1, 17. See Brisson 1993 and Brisson 2002.

³⁵ There were several versions of the history of plagiarism. Plato is said to have purchased 3 Pythagorean books from Philolaus through Dion Syracusanus (Iambl., *Vita Pythagorica*, 199). A similar story is quoted by Diogenes Laertius (3, 9; 8, 84). In Diogenes, there is also a different version: Plato is alleged to have purchased a book written by Philolaus himself (See Hermippus in Diogenes Laertius, 8, 85; cf. Timon, fr. 54; Gell., 3, 17, 4). Cf. Baltes 1972, p. 3; Burkert 1972a, p. 208; Marg 1972, pp. 88–90; Centrone 1982, pp. 293–94.

³⁶ Henceforth I use the abbreviation TL for the author (the forger) of the text *On the Nature of the World and the Soul*.

tury BC and the 1st century AD. According to Baltes, who provides an extensive commentary on this work, there are many affinities between TL and the Platonism of the 1st century BC. Although it is not possible to confirm this hypothesis with any certainty, Baltes gives significant parallels to Eudorus of Alexandria, most of them in the domains of psychology and ethics.³⁷ TL's text differs from the other pseudo-Pythagoreans in that it is the only pseudo-Pythagorean treatise that, although it is not presented as such, is in fact an interpretative summary of a Platonic dialogue. The other apocryphal texts are not a direct interpretation of some specific work, except for the treatise *On the whole system* by ps.-Archytas,³⁸ which is based on Aristotle's *Categories*.

Building on a hypothesis by R. Harder,³⁹ M. Baltes suggests that TL's text could be the result of a complex history of composition and contains at least 2 strata: the first and oldest being an epitome of Plato's *Timaeus* written in the 2nd century BC. According to Baltes, this oldest layer of the text is basically a summary of Plato's dialogue which reduces the latter's complexity. Already at this stage, the epitomiser who was responsible for this oldest stratum, may have reinterpreted the text on the basis of an Aristotelian conceptual apparatus. The 2nd stratum could be the

³⁷ According to Baltes, an important clue for determining the affinity between TL and Eudorus is, for instance, the number on the basis of which the soul is mathematically divided, namely 384, e.g. the same number adopted by Crantor and Eudorus in their explanation of the mathematical division of the world soul. Cf. TL, 208, 16–209, 8 (I quote from the edition by W. Marg, 1972, who adopts the numbering of Thesleff 1965). Eudorus and TL moreover incline to a metaphoric or didactic interpretation of the generation of the world in Plato's *Timaeus*, as does TL, 206, 11–12. For even more parallels between TL and Eudorus, see 2013a, pp. 387–88 and pp. 391–92; Bonazzi 2013b, pp. 164–71.

³⁸ In Thesleff's 1965 edition, the title used for the treatise is *Περὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων*. The tract is completely transmitted in a manuscript discovered by J. Nolle (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 23 = B, see Nolle 1914, p. vii) in a *koinè* version bearing the title *Περὶ τοῦ καθόλου λόγου ἥτοι δέκα κατηγοριῶν*. Excerpts from a Doric version are quoted in later sources, most notably by Simplicius in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*. See Thesleff 1961, p. 9; and Thesleff 1965, p. 21. In his 1972 edition, Szlezák reconstructs the text by using the version of the codex Ambrosianus and the excerpts from Simplicius; cf. Szlezák 1972, pp. 1–7; 13–19.

³⁹ According to R. Harder, 2 stratifications can be found in TL's treatise: a stratum due to the forger (F), who probably worked in the 1st century BC, and an intermediate stratum (Q), which could be an epitome from the Hellenistic age, cf. Harder 1936.

work of a teacher in a Platonic school from the 1st century BC or the 1st century AD, and would have been responsible for additions and alterations, inspired by post-Aristotelian developments.⁴⁰ He could very well have been the person who pseudepigraphically attributed the text to Timaeus of Locri and, moreover, would be the person responsible for the Doric translation. Alternatively, Baltes suggests the possibility that the pseudepigraphical attribution is, in fact, due to a 3rd person. This hypothesis has important repercussions for the relation between TL's text and Plato's dialogue. It is much less important, however, for the rational reconstruction of the doctrines contained in the text, which is the approach I want to adopt here. It should be stressed that M. Baltes' reconstruction of the textual history is a hypothesis and one that is not based on strong textual evidence,⁴¹ but mainly on contextual elements, grounded in a more global view of the development of Hellenistic philosophy. Plausible as this may sound to like-minded historians of philosophy, if we look at the text as it is, devoid of any clearly distinguishable strata or obvious breaks,⁴² we need not worry about this issue in the present context. I intend to simply study the text as such, examining the author's strategies and methods in order to compare it with Plato's *Timaeus*, and use it as evidence for Hellenistic and Early Imperial interpretations of the latter. The selection of passages from Plato's *Timaeus* that TL summarises, offers significant clues as to implied theoretical points of view and, generally, as to how this Platonic dialogue was interpreted at the beginning of the Imperial Age; that is, of course, assuming that it can be reliably dated to that period. I, for one, find this date to be highly plausible, given what is known about the pseudo-Pythagorean corpus, generally speaking, and the Pythagoreanising tendencies in Platonism. Even if the text contains non-Platonic elements which pre-date that period, these were, at least, still thought to be pertinent at the time of its final redaction.⁴³

⁴⁰ Baltes 1972, pp. 9–10; 20–26.

⁴¹ The only textual evidence is that the arithmological section is not found in all manuscripts. This could be an indication that it is a later addition and, therefore, that there are at least 2 strata of TL's text. See Marg 1972, pp. 60–75.

⁴² With the possible exception of the arithmological section. See n. 39.

⁴³ The first quotations of TL's text are in Nicomachus of Gerasa (*Ench.*

I shall now present a specific issue in TL's text: TL's hylomorphic interpretation of Plato's theory of elemental bodies,⁴⁴ an aspect that has gone completely neglected by most scholars. It is a crucial part of the text for understanding which strategies the pseudo-Pythagoreans adopted and what aims they intended to pursue.⁴⁵ Moreover, the hylomorphic interpretation of Plato's theory of elemental bodies, more than any other aspect of the Doric treatises, enjoyed a successful reception in late ancient philosophy.

According to Plato's so-called geometrical atomism, the 4 elements – fire, earth, water and air – derive from basic triangles that combine into triangular and quadrangular surfaces. These are, in turn, combined into stereometric figures which form the elements.⁴⁶ TL basically agrees with this theory, yet not without specifying (adopting an Aristotelian terminology) that elemental bodies are composed of matter and form.⁴⁷ Thus, he combines a mathematical explanation with a physical one. Now, it is well known that one of the major criticisms that Aristotle addressed to the Platonic theory of elemental bodies is that a mathematical approach cannot really explain the constitution of physical bodies.⁴⁸ According to Aristotle, elemental bodies actually derive from primary qualities: hot and cold, dry and wet.

Harmon., in *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, ed. Jan, p. 260) and in *Taurus apud Philoponum* (*De aet. mundi*, ed. Rabe, p. 145). The *terminus ante quem* is, therefore, assumed to be the 2nd century AD. For the *terminus post quem* scholars do not agree upon a date. According to H. Thesleff, TL's text was composed at least in the 3rd century BC (Thesleff 1961, pp. 59–65). G. Ryle, whose hypothesis was met with great scepticism, tried to demonstrate the Aristotelian authorship of TL's treatise (Ryle 1965). For a comprehensive account of the various hypotheses regarding the date and corresponding arguments, see Centrone 1982, p. 295 n. 3 and pp. 296–99 n. 4.

⁴⁴ I discuss the theoretical implication of this aspect in a more systematic way together with J. Opsomer in Ulacco & Opsomer 2014. Here, I will summarize some general results of this article, while highlighting the strategies and methods adopted by TL.

⁴⁵ Assuming that TL and the other pseudo-Pythagorean texts come from the same milieu and have similar aims.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ulacco & Opsomer 2014, pp. 156–58.

⁴⁷ TL, 215, 13–15.

⁴⁸ See for instance Aristotle's argument that bodies cannot come to be from planes, cf. *DC*, 3, 8, 306a23–26. He also objected that the theory presupposes the existence of free-floating triangles, held to be impossible because two-dimensional figures cannot exist separately in nature, cf. *DC*, 306a20–23.

What, then, is TL's aim? Are TL's statements simply a crude and eclectic mix of heterogeneous ideas? Is TL defending Plato's theory against Aristotle's criticism or could he have actually been consciously combining two opposite models?

In order to answer these questions, we need to look more closely at what TL means when he uses the terms 'form' and 'matter', as he does at the beginning of the text.

The text begins in a rather archaic way, probably to suggest that the text is the transcription of Timaeus Locrus' ancient teaching.

Τίμαιος ὁ Λοκρὸς τάδε ἔφα⁴⁹

Δύο αἰτίας εἶμεν τῶν συμπάντων, νόον μὲν τῶν κατὰ λόγον γιγνομένων, ἀνάγκαν δὲ τῶν βία καττάς δυνάμεις τῶν σωμάτων. τουτέων δὲ τὸ μὲν τᾶς τἀγαθῷ φύσιος εἶμεν θεὸν τε ὀνυμαίνεσθαι ἀρχάν τε τῶν ἀρίστων· τὰ δ' ἐπόμενά τε καὶ συναίτια ὄντα ἐς ἀνάγκαν ἀνάγεσθαι. τὰ δὲ ζύμπαντα τρία· ἰδέαν, ὕλαν, αἰσθητὸν τὸ οἷον ἔργονον τουτέων.

Timaeus Locrus said the following. There are two causes of all things: Intellect of what comes into being according to reason; Necessity of what comes into being under constraint in accordance with the powers of bodies. Of these causes, one is of the nature of the good and it is called god and the principle of the best things; the other, however, which are secondary and contributory causes, fall under necessity. All things are three (in kind): idea, matter and the sensible, which is the offspring of them.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The locution with the *praeteritum* 'he said the following' is a seal customarily put at the beginning of a work in ancient literature. For references see Baltes 1972, pp. 29–30. Usually we find *συνέγραφε* (*wrote*), while TL uses *ἔφα* (*said*). What makes TL's beginning a peculiar case is also the fact that he introduces his own teaching. Baltes gives references to Alcmaeon of Croton, who uses an analogous opening, where it is clear that his disciples are reporting his theory (cf. 24B1). Unusual is also the article 'ὁ' Λοκρὸς, something like 'the famous of Locri'. Baltes wonders whether TL's treatise is actually an account of a disciple, who is reporting the master's teaching. Yet he rejects this hypothesis maintaining that what we actually have here is a forger's misunderstanding of an ancient formula. The sealing of the text could also have been a later addition, possibly made at the time of the second stratum of the text, if indeed we accept this hypothesis regarding the composition of the text; cf. n. 38 and 39. For the *proœmium* as requirement to advertise the authorship of the text see Runia 1997.

⁵⁰ TL, 205, 4–10. Translations are from Tobin with some modifications, cf. Tobin 1985.

The opening of TL's treatise does not correspond to the opening of the physical account in Plato's *Timaeus*. The dialogic structure and the 'likely' character of the account of nature,⁵¹ which determine Plato's approach, are completely disregarded by TL. Instead, the pseudo-Pythagorean opens his work in a dogmatic way, presenting what he probably considers the philosophical core of Plato's *Timaeus*: a twofold system, in which the first principles are intellect and necessity. In fact, this idea is taken from the 2nd part of the *Timaeus* (from 47e3 onwards), where Plato/Timaeus comes to consider the generation of the world under the perspective of Necessity, after having reported it from the perspective of Reason or Intellect. It is certainly a core idea of this Platonic dialogue that the world is a mixture of reason and necessity, and TL summarises Plato's argument by positing a fundamental opposition between reason and necessity from the very beginning. He then introduces a further classification of 3 entities that, together, constitute the totality of things: idea, matter and their offspring. TL then describes what idea and matter are:

καὶ τὰν μὲν εἶμεν αἰεί, ἀγέννατόν τε καὶ ἀκίνατον, ἀμέριστόν τε καὶ τὰς ταύτῳ φύσιος, νοατάν τε καὶ παράδειγμα τῶν γεννωμένων, ὁκόσα ἐν μεταβολᾷ ἐντι· τοιοῦτον γάρ τι τὰν ιδέαν λέγεσθαί τε καὶ νοῆσθαι. τὰν δ' ὕλαν ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ ματέρα τιθάναν τε καὶ γεννατικὰν εἶμεν τὰς τρίτας οὐσίας· δεξαμένην γὰρ τὰ ὁμοιώματα ἐς αὐτὰν καὶ οἷον ἐναπομαζαμέναν ἀποτελῆν τάδε τὰ γεννάματα. ταύταν δὲ τὰν ὕλαν αἰδίον μὲν ἔφα, οὐ μὲν ἀκίνατον, ἄμορφον δὲ κατ' αὐταύταν καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον, δεχομένην δὲ πᾶσαν μορφάν· τὰν δὲ περὶ τὰ σώματα μεριστὰν εἶμεν καὶ τὰς θατέρω φύσιος. ποταγορεύοντι δὲ τὰν ὕλαν τόπον καὶ χώραν. δύο ὦν αἶδε ἀρχαί ἐντι, ἅν τὸ μὲν εἶδος λόγον ἔχει ἄρρενός τε καὶ πατρός, ἃ δ' ὕλα θήλεός τε καὶ μητέρος. τρίτα δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἔγγονα.

The idea is eternal, ungenerated, and immovable, indivisible and of the nature of the same, intelligible and the model of generated things, which are in a state of change. The idea can indeed be spoken and thought. Matter, however, is the recipient, mother, nurse and generative of the third sub-

⁵¹ Cf. Plato, *Tim.*, 29d2, where the character Timaeus describes his account of nature as being *resembling* or *likely* (τὸν εἰκότα μῦθον).

stance. It receives the likenesses in itself, stamps itself with them and produces those things that are generated. He says this matter is everlasting, not immovable; in itself shapeless and patternless, but receiving every shape. The substance that is divisible about bodies is likewise of the nature of the different. They call matter place and space. These two then are principles of which form has the function of the male and the father; matter of the female and the mother. The offspring of both occupy the third place.⁵²

TL summarizes, in the guise of a catalogue, all the aspects of intelligible things that we can find in Plato's dialogues, not only with respect to the Forms but also with respect to the soul. TL's strategy may very well have been to show that Timaeus Locrus had already conceived and expressed, in a very condensed way, the most important features of the intelligible and, in general, everything that belongs to the principle of reason/Intellect. It is possible to say that TL's thought marked a step, we do not know how early, of a theory that would become common in Imperial Platonism (which, however, would not be accepted by all Platonists and which existed in many different versions), i.e. the assimilation of the Forms with the Intellect (the Forms as thoughts of god).⁵³ What is probably more surprising is the use of the term 'matter'. In Plato's *Timaeus*, the entity which receives every pattern is described as the receptacle (χώρα, δεξαμενή, τιθήνη). Interestingly, TL substitutes the Aristotelian term 'matter' for Plato's receptacle. The precedent for this identification is in *Physics*, 4, 2, 209b11–12, where Aristotle states that Plato's 3rd principle, space or the receptacle, should be understood as matter. This identification was a common theory among the Imperial Platonists,⁵⁴ but its direct application to the *Timaeus* implies a radical shift. TL's matter and idea/form are ontological constituents of bodies, that is, of material substances. Idea and matter are also described, together with their offspring, as substances. This description is reminiscent of the Aristotelian distinction, in *Metaphysics* Z, between 3 candidates for substancehood: mat-

⁵² TL, 205, 10–206, 7. See Ulacco & Opsomer 2014, pp. 161–68 for a detailed interpretation of this passage.

⁵³ Cf. Baltes 1972, pp. 35–36.

⁵⁴ Cf. Brisson 1994², pp. 221–22; Lee 2001, pp. 132–36.

ter, form and compound.⁵⁵ In TL's text, idea and matter are conceived of as the hylomorphic constituent of the things, which are therefore compounds of matter and form. I will not go into the enormous theoretical consequences of such an identification here.⁵⁶ It suffices to note that the result of TL's combination of Platonic and Aristotelian issues appears to be more than just a simple juxtaposition.⁵⁷ Plato, for instance, never suggests that Idea/Form and matter are ontological constituents of bodies, which is exactly what TL does.⁵⁸ This is, indeed, an Aristotelian way of understanding sensible objects in nature. Aristotle, however, would never have accepted the identification of his notion of 'form' with the Platonic Idea/Intelligible.

TL's rendering of the entities listed in the *Timaeus*, however, does fit very well with the general accounts of the principles that we find throughout the pseudo-Pythagorean *corpus*. Matter and form belong to the twofold series (συστοιχία) of principles; they are the physical manifestations of the principles, as we can see in the ps.-Archytas' *On principles*.⁵⁹

Ἀνάγκα [καί] δύο ἀρχὰς εἶμεν τῶν ὄντων, μίαν μὲν τὰν συστοιχίαν ἔχουσιν τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ ὁριστῶν, ἑτέραν δὲ τὰν συστοιχίαν ἔχουσιν τῶν ἀτάκτων καὶ ἀορίστων.

There are necessarily two principles of beings; the one containing the series of beings organised and limited; the other, of unordered and unlimited things.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Arist., *Met.*, 7, 3, 1028b33–1029b12.

⁵⁶ See Ulacco & Opsomer 2014, esp. pp. 161–68; pp. 203–06.

⁵⁷ For more examples and a more detailed analysis of the appropriation of Aristotle's texts in the pseudo-Pythagorean literature see Ulacco 2016.

⁵⁸ The only passage in which Plato uses ὕλη in a sense that comes even remotely close to Aristotle's matter is *Phlb.*, 54c1–4.

⁵⁹ Cf. Bonazzi 2005, esp. pp. 142–60; Bonazzi 2013b, esp. pp. 386–87 and 390–97, who clearly shows that ps.-Archytas' theory bears a close resemblance to Eudorus'. The latter attributes a similar theory to the Ancient Pythagoreans and the Academics, perceived as Pythagoras' disciples (cf. Mazzarelli 1985, test. 3–5). Eudorus' account of the Pythagorean doctrine may derive, as Bonazzi convincingly remarks, from Aristotle's account of the Pythagoreans in *Metaphysics* A. This also constitutes evidence for an early reception of the Aristotelian scholastic *corpus*, on which cf. Chiaradonna 2011. See also note n. 59 of this paper. Bonazzi stresses the role of the Stoic theories in ps.-Archytas. Although this is an important aspect for a correct understanding of this thinker, I shall not consider it in the present paper.

⁶⁰ 19, 5–7 Thesleff.

καὶ τὰ τέχνη καὶ τὰ φύσει γινόμενα δύο τούτων πρᾶτων μετέληφε, τὰς τε μορφῶς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας. καὶ ἂ μὲν μορφῶ ἐστὶν αἰτία τοῦ τόδε τι εἶμεν· ἂ δὲ ὡσία τὸ ὑποκείμενον, παραδεχόμενον τὰν μορφῶ.

The things that owe their existence to art, and also those which owe it to nature, must above all participate in these two, shape and substance; the shape is the cause of essence, the substance however is the substratum which receives the shape.⁶¹

It is also interesting to note that TL applies the same hylomorphic structure to the world soul as well as to elemental bodies. The world soul is said to be a mixture of indivisible form and divisible matter; terms which, at the beginning of the text, are posited as equivalent to form and matter. The world soul is, thus, described as a hylomorphic compound of matter and form, in which the matter more than likely has to be understood as something different from the matter out of which sensible things are constituted.⁶²

Regarding elemental bodies, TL adopts Plato's geometric atomism, but he systematically reduces the Platonic account of the composition of the elements out of triangles. Interestingly though, he introduces this account with the following remarks:

ἀρχαὶ μὲν ὧν τῶν γεννωμένων ὡς μὲν ὑποκείμενον ἂ ὕλα, ὡς δὲ λόγος μορφᾶς τὸ εἶδος· ἀπογεννάματα δὲ τούτων ἐντὶ τὰ σώματα, γὰρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἀήρ τε καὶ πῦρ.

The principles of generated things are matter as the substratum and form (εἶδος) as the formula of the shape. The progeny of these are the bodies: earth, water, fire, air.⁶³

⁶¹ 19, 17–20 Thesleff. An alternative translation for μορφῶ would be *form*, yet I here use *shape* in order to distinguish it from my translation of εἶδος as *form* (TL, 215, 13–15, see above). The expression λόγος μορφᾶς should accordingly be understood as *formula*, *principle* or *basis* of the shape. It is clear, however, that ps.-Archytas takes μορφῶ as referring to the essential form which determines and structures the substance/matter. In the case of the 4 elements, this essential form *consists* in the configuration of matter in a certain shape. The meaning of substance (οὐσία) as first matter has probably a stoic origin, cf. e.g. SVF 1, 24, 6–7; 28–29. For a translation (in Italian) and a running commentary of Archytas' *On Principles* see Ulacco 2017, pp. 12–13; 19–54.

⁶² TL, 208, 13–17: Τὰν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ ψυχὰν μεσόθεν ἐξάψας ἐπάγαγεν, ἔξω περι καλύνσας αὐτὸν ὅλον αὐτᾷ, κράμα αὐτὰν κερασάμενος ἐκ τε τὰς ἀμερίστω μορφᾶς καὶ τὰς μεριστᾶς οὐσίας, ὡς ἐν κράμα ἐκ δύο τούτων εἶμεν. On the problem of the cosmic soul in TL and other pseudo-Pythagorean treatises cf. Ulacco forthcoming.

⁶³ TL, 215, 13–15.

This is the clearest statement of TL's hylomorphic account of elemental bodies which has no parallels in Plato's *Timaeus* or in Aristotle's theory of the elemental bodies. I shall not delve into any more details of TL's account here.⁶⁴ For our purposes, we already have enough material to reach some interesting conclusions.

In order to provide an answer to our first question, 'What is TL's aim?', we should probably say that TL expresses a form of Platonism, to which certain Aristotelian positions are not entirely antithetical. However, he still does not seem to defend Plato 'against' Aristotle's criticism. Besides, TL does not follow a clear strategy of harmonisation as other Platonists did and for which they could have found clues in TL's work. Such a harmonisation would have required a deep knowledge of Aristotle's esoteric treatises, something that appears to be absent from TL's text.⁶⁵ The author purports a type of Platonism which combines two models for the interpretation of reality, a geometrical one and a physical one; TL's aim here is clearly to show that every kind of reality depends on a higher, twofold classification of principles. Although it is not clear which assumptions TL is committed to, it is plausible that he combines a more transcendent and metaphysical approach with a physical and empirical perspective. In this way, he may have answered Aristotle's criticism – just not in a systematic manner. By showing the source of Plato's *Timaeus*, and therefore of Plato's doctrines as well, he shows that he is not vulnerable to such criticism. In fact, TL anticipates and thus 'pre-empts', consciously or not, Aristotle's eventual criticism.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ For that see Baltes 1972, p. 112; Ulacco & Opsomer 2014, pp. 170–88.

⁶⁵ Cf. Chiaradonna 2009 and in particular Chiaradonna 2011, which discusses the reception of the Aristotelian *corpus* between 100 BC and 250 AD. Chiaradonna argues that the first Peripatetic and Platonic interpreters knew only some of the esoteric Aristotelian treatises. Only in the 2th century AD did philosophers develop a systematic reading of the esoteric works, which culminated in the work of Alexander of Aphrodisias. The exegetical work of Alexander laid the foundations for the Neoplatonic systematic integration of Aristotle with Plato.

⁶⁶ It is of course difficult to establish to what extent TL was aware of the anachronism of using Aristotelian terminology. It could also have been that TL just used the terminology that was most familiar with in order to explain and paraphrase Plato's *Timaeus*. There is, however, at least one case that proves that TL knew an Aristotelian text passage and that he tried to 'reformulate' it and

If we compare TL's approach with another pseudo-Pythagorean text, ps.-Archytas' *On the Whole System*, we can see another strategy at work. If the aim of TL's work was to reveal the Ur-text of Plato's *Timaeus*, ps.-Archytas' aim could very well have been to reveal the Ur-text of Aristotle's *Categories*. By showing that an Aristotelian treatise, the *Categories*, also has an ancient Pythagorean model, ps.-Archytas may have wanted to prove that Aristotle's theory of categories is part of a Platonic theory. One example suffices to give an idea of the similarities between TL's and ps.-Archytas' approach. When speaking of the general 'expressions' or 'genera' of beings, ps.-Archytas states that the category of 'substance' belongs to intelligible things, as well as to sensible things.⁶⁷ He thereby deviates from Aristotle in the *Categories*, by defining substance as a 'Platonic' intelligible, thus establishing a link between the sensible and intelligible realms. I do not think that ps.-Archytas is criticizing Aristotle's theory of categories here. What is more likely, rather, is that he wants to show how a theory of categories is implied in Plato's theory of Forms and that the Aristotelian theory of categories equally applies to the intelligible realm.⁶⁸

Finally, it should be noted that the 2 texts that are proposed as models of Platonic and Aristotelian works – Plato's *Timaeus* and Aristotle's *Categories* – are certainly not chosen by coincidence. As scholars have remarked, at the beginning of the 1st century BC, these 2 texts were considered the most important

make it consistent with his theoretical assumptions. Compare TL, 219, 16–17: τὸ μὲν ὦν θερμὸν λεπτομερές τε καὶ διαστατικὸν τῶν σωμάτων δοκεῖ εἶμεν, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν παχυμερέστερόν τε τῶν πόρων καὶ συμπλωτικὸν ἐστὶ, with Aristotle, *DC*, 3, 8, 307b12–14: Φασὶ γὰρ εἶναι ψυχρὸν τὸ μεγαλομερές διὰ τὸ συνθλιβεῖν καὶ μὴ διένειν διὰ τῶν πόρων. Δῆλον τοίνυν ὅτι καὶ τὸ θερμὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ διόν· τοιοῦτον δ' αἰεὶ τὸ λεπτομερές. The wording here is much closer to Aristotle than it is to the *Timaeus*. This passage is discussed in Ulacco & Opsomer 2014, pp. 199–203.

⁶⁷ 30, 23–31, 5 Thesleff; *pace* Szlezák 1972, esp. pp. 16–17 Here, I follow the interpretation of Chiaradonna 2009, esp. pp. 99–107. Contrary to Szlezák, Chiaradonna does not find an anticipation of the Plotinian criticism of Aristotle in ps.-Archytas' texts. Plotinus argues that Aristotle's theory of categories does not apply to the intelligible realm (cf. *Enn.*, 6, 1, 1, 30), while according to ps.-Archytas substance belongs to both realms, the sensible and the intelligible one.

⁶⁸ On the appropriation of Aristotle in ps.-Archytas' theory of categories see also Ulacco 2016, pp. 205–10.

texts of the ‘Ancients’ and were held to deserve exegesis. They were perceived as essential for answering the crucial metaphysical, physical and epistemological questions.⁶⁹

3. *The Neoplatonic Reception: An Established Pythagorean Authority*

The Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts play a very interesting role in late ancient philosophy. Indeed, as far as TL and ps.-Archytas are concerned, Neoplatonic commentators considered those texts to be genuine, even arguing that they were models for Plato and Aristotle. Iamblichus was the first to include pseudo-Pythagorean writings in his works with the idea of advancing ‘pythagoreanisation’ of Platonism; a project which consisted of giving a central role to mathematical speculation in metaphysics, in developing a theory of first principles and in deriving a structural principle of ontology. Iamblichus thereby claimed the authority of ancient Pythagoreanism for Platonism.⁷⁰ Crucial to this project is an epistemological treatise by ps.-Archytas entitled *On the intellect and the Sensation*,⁷¹ which deals with the problem of truth criterion and distinguishes four different levels of knowledge. Iamblichus uses this text⁷² in order to develop his doctrine of mathematical entities in the soul and thereby provides an ontology of mathematical objects. He argues that mathematics originates at the level of the soul and constitutes the link between the higher forms and the shapes and formal principles in matter. Iamblichus’ project is, in fact, to rebuild a Pythagorean identity. To this aim, he collects all of the Pythagorean sources, genuine and pseudepigraphic texts alike (which, of course, he considered to be authentic). He uses TL’s treatise to get a firmer grip on Plato’s *Timaeus* and to settle interpretive issues related to that

⁶⁹ On the ‘revival’ of Plato’s and Aristotle’s works at the beginning of the 1st century BC cf. Frede 1999 and, specifically on Aristotle’s *Categories*, cf. Sharples 2008.

⁷⁰ See also the analysis of the very concept of principle for Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus, by Roux 2004.

⁷¹ 36, 13–39, 25 Thesleff.

⁷² Iambl., *De comm. math. sc.*, ed. Festa, 35.

work. In the same vein, he uses the authority of ps.-Archytas' *On the Whole System* to arbitrate exegetical debates that had divided readers of Aristotle's *Categories*. As was previously stated, Iamblichus considers the pseudo-Pythagorean texts the prime example of the ancient Pythagorean mastery over every domain. This claim was to have substantial influence on later Neoplatonic systems.

Below, I relate a few significant examples of the Neoplatonists' attitude to the pseudo-Pythagorean treatises and, more specifically, to TL's hylomorphic theory. In his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, Proclus introduces his exegesis claiming that he is going to present the work of the Pythagorean Timaeus as an introduction to Plato's dialogue, because Plato himself conducted his survey over nature in the *Pythagorean manner*.⁷³ The meaning of this expression, of course, requires some further clarification. Proclus criticises Aristotle's ontological analysis of hylomorphic objects in terms of matter and enmattered form, both considered as causes properly speaking, while Plato considered them as mere *συνάττια* of the physical world, themselves dependent upon transcendent primary causes.⁷⁴ Proclus supports this criticism of Aristotle and the corresponding interpretation of Plato by referring to Timaeus Locrus. Thus Timaeus Locrus is referenced at a crucial point in Proclus' account. Despite his criticism of Aristotle, Proclus integrates the Aristotelian concepts of matter and form (based on *Phys.*, 1; *Met.*, 7). Further on in his work, Proclus often mentions Timaeus (Locrus), but he also speaks of a theory on the primary qualities of the elements, which he ascribes to Ocellus, to whom was attributed, pseudepigraphically, a work entitled *On the Nature of the Whole*. Proclus uses these 2 *pseudepigrapha* to construct a new theory of the 3 basic forces defining the elemental bodies.⁷⁵

Simplicius uses TL's *On the Nature of the World and of the Soul* and ps.-Archytas' *On the Whole System* in a more systematic way. Simplicius expressly links alleged Pythagorean authority to his own exegetical practice. In particular, he uses what he

⁷³ Proclus, *In Tim.*, 1, p. 1, l. 5–16.

⁷⁴ Proclus, *In Tim.*, 1, p. 2, l. 29–1, p. 3, l. 2.

⁷⁵ Proclus, *In Tim.*, 2, p. 37, l. 33–2, p. 39, l. 19.

considers the archaic model, common to Plato and Aristotle, in order to defend the authority of his own principal exegetical aim: to prove that the main philosophical traditions, and especially Plato and Aristotle, are essentially in agreement. Like Proclus, Simplicius quotes TL (215, 13–15) in his commentary on *De caelo* as evidence of his interpretation of the generation of elements.⁷⁶ Unlike Proclus, Simplicius' goal is to harmonize Plato's philosophy with Aristotle's. Thus, he has to find a stratagem to explain away Aristotle's explicit criticism of Plato's theory of the elements. The hylomorphic interpretation of Plato's theory of the elements forms an essential part of his strategy.

In his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, Simplicius, clearly following an Iamblichean exegetical principle, states that ps.-Archytas' texts on categories was the model for Aristotle's *Categories*.⁷⁷ It is possible to follow one of the several consequences of this approach in the way in which Simplicius tries to explain the differences between ps.-Archytas and Aristotle. Simplicius states that Archytas and Aristotle are both discussing supreme beings, only according to different perspectives. Where Aristotle examines the categories as linguistic and empirical manifestations of the supreme beings, Archytas considers the categories strictly to be referring to the latter. Simplicius applies the same strategy to explain what could otherwise have been seen as a conflict between Plato and Aristotle:

[...] πανταχοῦ δὲ ἐθέλει τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν φύσιν θεωρεῖ σχέσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων ἀνάπαλιν κατὰ τὸ Πυθαγόρειον ἔθος καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ ἐπισκέπτεται καθὼ τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν μετέχουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μύθοις οὐδὲ συμβολικοῖς αἰνίγμασιν, ὡς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τινες, Ἀριστοτέλης ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ παντὸς ἄλλου παραπετάσματος τὴν ἀσάφειαν προετίμησεν.

[Aristotle] always refuses to deviate from nature; on the contrary, he considers even things which are above nature according to their relation to nature, just as, by contrast, the divine Plato, according to Pythagorean usage, examines even natural

⁷⁶ Simplicius, *In De cael.*, p. 561, l. 10; p. 564, l. 3; p. 641, l. 9.

⁷⁷ For the role of ps.-Archytas' text in Simplicius' commentary on *Categories*, see Gavray 2011.

things insofar as they participate in the things above nature. To be sure, unlike some of his predecessors, Aristotle did not make use of myths or of symbolic riddles, but preferred obscurity.⁷⁸

According to Simplicius, the ‘Pythagorean’ approach, which is also Plato’s approach, is to examine natural things insofar that they participate in transcendent beings. If Plato (just like Archytas) seems to be in disagreement with Aristotle, this is only because their terminology and methodology are different. Ps.-Archytas’ text is witness to a fundamental agreement, in so far as the Pythagorean was a source for both Plato and Aristotle. Thus, they belong to the same tradition of truth.

4. Conclusion

It is remarkable that both Simplicius and Proclus use the very same passage from TL in order to substantiate their claim that the Platonic theory of elements should be interpreted in a hylomorphic sense. Proclus and Simplicius did not have any doubt about the authenticity of TL’s treatise. They were convinced that this was the original text that inspired the *Timaeus* and which gave it its Pythagorean flavour. They needed this hylomorphic interpretation of geometrical atomism in order to defend the *Timaeus* against a series of arguments that Aristotle levelled at the theory. Aristotle argued, for instance, that bodies cannot come to be from planes.⁷⁹ This objection is rendered void, however, if one claims that triangles are themselves material, three-dimensional bodies. Is it possible, then, that TL intended to disarm these objections? As we have remarked above, it is very difficult to find a deep engagement with Aristotle’s arguments in TL. To be sure, TL knows some Aristotelian objections to Plato and possibly tries to disarm them through what he want to show as anticipation. He suggests the idea of continuity among Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle which was more systematically pursued by Neoplatonic commentators, especially Simplicius, whose principal aim was

⁷⁸ Simplicius, *In Cat.*, p. 6, l. 27–32; translation by Chase 2003.

⁷⁹ Arist., *DC*, 3, 8, 306a23–26.

to harmonise Plato's and Aristotle's theories. In TL, the Neoplatonists found the key for postulating a continuum among various realms – from sublunary to transcendent – where similar causal structures are at work.

As already suggested at the beginning of this paper, the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean texts support a specific interpretation of Plato's dialogues. Moreover, they create a new 'Pythagorean' authority, in so far as:

- 1) they provide a textual and authoritative source for both Plato and Aristotle;
- 2) they validate the possibility of integrating Aristotle's thought into an interpretation of Plato's dialogues, and therefore:
- 3) they confer authority to their philosophical interpretation of Plato (and Aristotle).

As I hope to have demonstrated, one of the principal strategies of the pseudo-Pythagorean authors was to profit from Aristotle's criticism, especially among those critiques wherein Aristotle references both Plato and the Pythagoreans. They do so by producing, what they probably understand as, a common underlying theory; in other words, a theory that Aristotle would have shared. The pseudo-Pythagoreans were not aiming to establish a *systematic* agreement between Plato and Aristotle, unlike the Neoplatonic commentators. They did not directly engage Aristotle's arguments. Still, it is highly likely that they had access to some of Aristotle's esoteric works. They were also aware of at least some important criticisms that Aristotle directed at Plato and the Pythagoreans. What is more, they saw the possibility of reconciling the Academic and Pythagorean doctrines of first principles in Aristotle's own account of the Pythagoreans.

In their approach, however, the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean treatises created a new genealogy (Pythagoras – Plato – Aristotle), which would become fundamental to the Neoplatonic exegetical enterprise. Contrary to the pseudo-Pythagoreans, some Neoplatonists clearly argued in favour of the thesis that there is a substantial agreement between Plato and Aristotle. And all of them directly engage with problems posed in Aristotle's criticism of Plato.

To conclude, the study of this doctrinal aspect agrees well with the hypothesis, shared by a number of scholars, that this pseudo-Pythagorean text should be dated to the 1st century of the Imperial age. The aim of the pseudo-Pythagorean authors, at least of Timaeus Lokros, fits very well with the revival of dogmatic Platonism in the 1st century BC, when, as scholars remarked, Platonists tried to propose a systematic interpretation of the Platonic dialogues in response to Hellenistic debates. The methods followed by pseudo-Pythagoreans authors, their emulation of ancient authorities as well as their imitation of the ancient language, all fit with the general tendencies of imperial literature.

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Abstract

Starting from a general recognition of the aims, methods and strategies of the Doric pseudo-Pythagorean treatises, the paper focuses on some passages of Timaeus Locrus' *On the Nature of the World and the Soul*, a text based on Plato's *Timaeus*. The main thesis of this contribution is that Timaeus Locrus' text, like other Pseudo-Pythagorean texts, was originally produced in order to provide authority for Plato and for a specific dogmatic interpretation of Plato's dialogue. By doing so, he also validates the possibility of incorporating Aristotle's thought into an interpretation of Plato's dialogues. The argument relies on an analysis of Timaeus Locrus' integration of hylomorphism into his interpretation of Plato. Finally, the paper analyses the successful reception of Timaeus Locrus' approach among Neoplatonic commentators, illustrating affinities and differences in the construction and in the understanding of philosophical authority.

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PSEUDO-PLUTARCH'S *ON RIVERS* AND THE SCHOOL TRADITION

1. *Introduction*

A Greek manuscript dating from the 3rd quarter of the 9th century and currently held by the University of Heidelberg (*Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Palatinus gr. 398*) contains a number of geographical, mythographical and doxographic treatises, such as the *Periplus* of Hanno, the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* ascribed to Arrian, excerpts of Strabo, Phlegon of Tralles' *On Marvels* and *On Long-lived Persons* as well as letters attributed to Hippocrates.¹ One of the geographical texts preserved in this manuscript, the short treatise *On Rivers* attributed to Plutarch, is a remarkable deception: it is not by Plutarch, much of the information it contains is false, and the author lends authority to his text by citing 46 authors and 65 different works, most of them certainly fabrications. This chapter will examine each deception in turn, to show Ps-Plutarch's constant distortion of mythology and history, as well as his predilection for seemingly genuine but ultimately fake authorities. However, the author's aim was not to mislead but to entertain, and he expected his readers to fully recognize and appreciate his playful fabrications. Since some late antique and Byzantine scholars failed to recognize that this text was essentially a learned joke and reproduced its fabulations uncritically, I will broaden my analysis to also examine the scholarly contexts which both gave *On Rivers* its form and made it believable.

¹ The common threads running through these treatises is that they are collections of notices rather than narratives and that their authors sought to produce original texts by compiling previous ones; Eleftheriou 2015, pp. 5, 7.

2. On Rivers: *Authorship*

On Rivers, or more accurately *On the Names of Rivers, Mountains and Things Found in Them* (Περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὄρων ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρισκομένων), is a catalog of 25 rivers presented in no particular geographical order, as well as mountains and remarkable minerals, plants and animals found near them. It contains no preface indicating what the goal of this text is, and we must take it for what it presents itself as – a didactic geographical catalog. The work is usually dated to the late second and early 3rd centuries AD on circumstantial evidence. The only firm *terminus ante quem* that has been proposed is 227 AD, when the Parthian kingdom was overthrown by the Sassanid monarchy. François de Mély argued that Ps-Plutarch's description of the Euphrates as river of Parthia could not have been made after this date, but this interpretation must be rejected.² The author's geography was more literary than contemporary and the same notice has the Euphrates flowing near Babylon, a city that was long gone by the 3rd century AD. More justified is the general assumption that the authors of *On Rivers* and the *Parallela minora* are one and the same, and the latter work is generally dated between the 1st century AD, since the text mentions Juba II of Mauretania, and the early 3rd century AD, when Clement of Alexandria appears to be paraphrasing it in his *Protrepticus*.³

It has long been recognized that the author of *On Rivers* is not Plutarch. Our oldest testimony is a note written by a medieval reader in the margins of the Heidelberg manuscript: Ψευδεπίγραφον τοῦτο. Πόρρω γὰρ τῆς Πλουτάρχου μεγαλοφυίας ἢ τε δῖανοια καὶ ἡ φράσις. Εἰ μὴ τις ἕτερος Πλούταρχος ('This is apocryphal. The thought and speech are far from the genius of Plutarch. Unless it is another Plutarch'). It is not difficult to imagine any ancient or Byzantine reader of Plutarch agreeing with this statement, and most were probably not fooled. Its syntax is abrupt and repetitive, yet occasionally peppered with striking or tortuous

² Plut., *De fluv.*, 20, 1. de Mély 1892, pp. 339–40.

³ Plut., 311C; Clem., *Protrep.*, 3, 42, 7 = Plut., *Par. min.*, 310D. The manuscript tradition is of no use for dating the *Parallela minora* after Plutarch since it does not explicitly attribute the text to this author. The mistaken attribution was made by Stobaeus in the 5th century, or by one of his sources.

idioms, a far cry from Plutarch's elegant style.⁴ Nevertheless some ancient readers were duped into thinking *On Rivers* to be a work of Plutarch, giving us some indication of the antiquity of the work. According to Photius, the early 4th-century rhetorician Sopater of Apamea compiled an anthology of Plutarch's works, including our geographical tract.⁵ By the 9th century, when *Palatinus Heidelbergensis* gr. 398 was written, the (mistaken) identification of the *On Rivers* with Plutarch was well-established and it was presented without qualification.

Taking a closer look at the development of modern attitudes toward Plutarch's authorship of *On Rivers* may yield some indirect light on ancient thoughts on the matter. The first editors and translators, starting with Siegmund Ghelen in Basel in 1533, rejected Plutarch's authorship outright.⁶ A change occurred with a revised edition of Jacques Amyot's French translation of Plutarch's *Moralia*, published in Paris in 1618 by the printer Claude Morel, who appended three new texts translated by Frédéric Morel: *On Rivers* and excerpts of Olympiodorus and Stobaeus drawn from Plutarch. Morel did not give his reasons for these additions, but we can imagine a number of factors at play, most prominently the desire to 'improve' upon Amyot's edition by assembling a larger corpus of texts linked to Plutarch. Morel's idea caught on and two years later *On Rivers* was included in a reissue of Henri Estienne's authoritative edition of Plutarch's works by Daniel and David Aubry and Clemens Schleich, who also extended Estienne's numbering system to this text, giving subsequent editors a ready-made justification for including it as well. They have not failed to do so, down to the recent edition of Plutarch's *Moralia* by Esteban Calderón Dorda, Alessandro De Lazzer and Ezro Pellizer, which still include *On Rivers* in Estienne's numbering system. But aside from the Morels, the Aubrys and Schleich, few editors have accepted Plu-

⁴ See further the stylistic analysis of Calderón Dorda, De Lazzer and Pellizer 2003, pp. 23–29 and Delattre 2011, pp. 32–37.

⁵ Phot., *Bibl.*, 161 (104b).

⁶ Ghelen's opinion finds an echo in Adrien Turnèbe's Latin translation published in Paris in 1556, Natale Conti's Latin translation published in Basel in 1560 and Philippe Maussac's edition published in Toulouse in 1615.

tarch's authorship of *On Rivers*, and the text is routinely placed at the end of these collections, an explicit acknowledgement of its questionable authorship but also a nod toward a tradition begun by Morel.

It is of course highly unlikely that the history of the modern reception of Ps-Plutarch's text mirrors the ancient history of the ancient diffusion of the text, but Morel's example shows how seductive the idea of completeness could be and how it could lead to the acceptance of a text acknowledged as spurious. Furthermore, *On Rivers* shares a number of stylistic and syntactic elements with the equally spurious *Parallela Minora*, whose diffusion is more widely attested and was attributed to Plutarch by Stobaeus in the 5th century AD, which might have led to some interest in the text in period, as we will see below. Let us note however that one cannot be certain whether our text originally advertised itself as written by Plutarch or whether this identification was imposed by compilers like Soter.

3. *The Euphrates River*

Authorship is however not the only fraud present in this manuscript, nor is it the most important one. The author deceives us at every turn of his narrative by presenting false information and justifying it by invoking invented authorities. To understand this fraud within the fraud, we must look closely at Ps-Plutarch's text. Let us consider his entry on the river Euphrates, which begins with an etiology of the river's name:

20, 1. Εὐφράτης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Παρθίας κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα πόλιν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ πρότερον Μῆδος ἀπὸ Μῆδου τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου παιδός. Οὗτος γὰρ δι' ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν Κορδίου θυγατέρα Ῥωξάνην βιασάμενος διέφθειρεν· τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ζητούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς κόλασιν, φόβῳ συσχεθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἔβαλεν εἰς ποταμὸν Ξαράνδαν, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μῆδος ὠνομάσθη. Προσηγορεύθη δὲ Εὐφράτης δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Εὐφράτης, Ἀρανδάκου παῖς, τὸν υἱὸν Ἀξούρταν εὐρὼν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἀναπαυόμενον καὶ ὑπολαβὼν ὑπάρχειν τῶν πολιτῶν τινα, διὰ ζήλου μισοπονηρίαν σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐλαιμοτόμησεν αὐτόν. τῆς δ' ἀνελπίστου πράξεως γενόμενος αἴτιος διὰ λύπης ὑπερβολὴν ἑαυτὸν ἔβαλεν εἰς ποταμὸν Μῆδον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Εὐφράτης μετωνομάσθη.

20, 1. The Euphrates is a river of Parthia near the city of Babylon. It was first called Medos, from Medos son of Artaxerxes. Out of desire he assaulted and raped Roxana daughter of Cordyes. On the next day, pursued by the king for his punishment, he jumped out of fear in the river Xarandas, which took from him the name of Medos. It received the name Euphrates from a cause (αἰτίαν) of this sort. Euphrates the son of Arandacos, discovered his son Axourtas taking a rest with his mother and thought he was one of his fellow citizens. Seized by a righteous jealousy, he drew his sword and cut his throat. Guilty of this hopeless deed, seized by sorrow he threw himself in the river Medos, which changed its name to Euphrates on his account.

This entry is one of Ps-Plutarch's most egregious cases of invention. It begins well enough, situating the Euphrates in Parthia and near Babylon, but the rest of the entry is pure fiction. In all of Greco-Roman literature, the Euphrates has no other name, certainly not a previous name, and absolutely not the names Medos or Xarandas. The characters invoked by the author are also out of place or mischaracterized. Medos is obviously an allusion to the Medes who held sway over the lands of the Euphrates before the Achaemenids, and one Medos son of Medea is indeed given as the eponymous founder of this nation by some authors.⁷ But here Ps-Plutarch has fun with history by making Medos a son of Artaxerxes, an Achaemenid king, and having him rape Roxana. She is obviously meant to recall Alexander the Great's Bactrian wife, but she is here the daughter of one Cordyes, a play on Gordyene, the region out of which flows the Euphrates.⁸ Our author seems to have been quite fond of this playful recasting and twisting of known mythological or historical characters, or of famous legendary episodes. Thus, the notice on the Boeotian river Ismenus uses an otherwise unattested legend of Cadmus to justify the river's alleged old name of Cadmus' Foot (Κάδμου ποῦς) and the entry on the Ganges mentions one of Porus' elephants climbing Mt Helios before the battle with Alexander, an oblique allusion to the elephant dedicated to the sun by Alexander fol-

⁷ Apoll., *Bibl.*, 1, 47.

⁸ No other Roxana is known from ancient literature and in any case the deeds and legend of Alexander would have been hard for any reader to disregard.

lowing this battle.⁹ Through these twists on myth and history, Ps-Plutarch shows himself to be quite learned and knowledgeable, as in his contention that Mt Cuckoo (ὄρος Κοκκύγιον) in the Argolid received his name from Zeus' dismay at fathering a son with Hera on this hill. This story makes sense only if one knows the legend related by Pausanias and a scholiast to Theocritus that Mt Cuckoo took this name because Zeus took the form of a cuckoo to seduce Hera there.¹⁰ In other instances, the author makes easily recognizable and quite intentional blunders, for example evoking one Peisistratus of Sparta, an obvious mistake involving the famous Athenian tyrant.¹¹

The other names found in *On Rivers*' notice on the Euphrates – Arandachos, Axourtas and the eponymous Euphrates himself – were all invented by the author, but by having Euphrates drown in the river he was being consistent with himself. 22 out of the 25 rivers described by Ps-Plutarch got their present name from people who drowned in them, and many rivers also got their former names from such hapless souls.¹² This is a common motif of ancient etiologies and our author clearly adopted it as his favorite explanatory device. Invented mythological names are created to fit the theme of the story Ps-Plutarch tells on each river or mountain. The names Arandacos and Axourtas are not attested anywhere else, but would sound vaguely Persian or Parthian to a Greek reader, as befits a description of the Euphrates. Other 'ethnic' names pepper *On Rivers*, such as a Gaul bearing the Celtic-sounding name Brigoulos or the African Garmathone, possibly a play on the Garamantes.¹³ The text also evokes peoples and nations through compound names such as the aptly named Lysippe or 'Unbridled Mare', an Amazon, and the Celt Atepomaros, named by combining elements from the

⁹ Plut., *De fluv.*, 2, 1. The elephant is mentioned by Diod., 17, 89 and Phil., *Apol. Tyan.*, 2, 12.

¹⁰ Plut., *De fluv.*, 18, 10; Paus., 2, 36, 1; Sch. Theocr., 15, 64.

¹¹ Plut., *De fluv.*, 10, 2.

¹² The rivers which did not receive their present names from drowning are the Marsyas (10, 1), named from the blood flowing from Marsyas' flailed body, the Tigris (24, 1), named either for a tiger carrying Dionysus across the river or for Dionysus' transformation into a tiger, and the Thermodon (15, 1), because of a lacuna in the text.

¹³ Plut., *De fluv.*, 6, 1; 16, 1.

Gallic language: *epos* ('horse') and *maros* ('great').¹⁴ Finally, characters' names echo an important aspect of the localized myths told by Ps-Plutarch, such as one Dioxippe ('Pursuing Mare'), killed by her son Sipylos, who kills himself after being hunted by the Erinyes, thus naming a mountain in Phrygia.¹⁵ Even more self-referential is the case of Aigesthios ('Goatish'), son of Diosphoros ('Zeus Bearer'), who fell in love with Ida, who later gave her name to one Mt Ida in the Troad – a transposition and remixing of the famous legend of Zeus' infancy on Mt Ida in Crete, where he was suckled by a goat.¹⁶

By these play on words and mythological events, Ps-Plutarch purposefully undermines the information he associates with these characters. This is also sometimes accomplished through presenting intentionally wrong geographical associations, which leaves it up to the discerning reader to recognize what the author was up to. This suggests that he was not engaging in deception but rather in playful fabrication. For example, his notice on the Armenian river Araxes attributes this name to one Araxes son of Pylos and grandson of Arbelos, who (of course) drowned in the river Bactros.¹⁷ Here are invoked in succession the Caspian Gates (πύλαι) or some other mountain pass of the Caucasus, the Mesopotamian city of Arbela and the land of Bactria, but significantly not Armenia itself. To top it all, Ps-Plutarch states that Araxes' story was told by Ctesiphon in his *Persica*. No such author exists, as one can deduce from the humorous couplet formed by the author's name and his subject matter. Finally, let us mention the case of one Celtiberos playing a role in the naming of the river Arar (the Saône) in Celtic lands (τῆς Κελτικῆς).¹⁸ A casual reader could recognize a name obviously molded upon the river's location, but only a reader truly knowledgeable in historical geography would have recognized Ps-Plutarch's intentional misnaming:

¹⁴ Plut., *De fluv.*, 6, 4; 14, 1. For these Gallic elements, see Delmarre 2000, pp. 57, 218–19. Atepomaros also appears as a king of the Gauls in Plut., *Par. min.*, 313a, possibly a source for the author of *On Rivers* or, if we are dealing with the same author, an indication of his erudition.

¹⁵ Plut., *De fluv.*, 9, 4.

¹⁶ Plut., *De fluv.*, 13, 3.

¹⁷ Plut., *De fluv.*, 23, 1.

¹⁸ Plut., *De fluv.*, 6, 1.

the Arar flows in Gaul, but the Celtiberians, as the name implies, lived in Spain. *On Rivers* deceives only those who cannot reach up to its level of erudition and playfulness.

Ps-Plutarch's description of the naming of the Euphrates is only the first part of his entry on this river. It continues and concludes with a description of remarkable plants and stones found nearby:

20, 2. Γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος αἰτίτης καλούμενος· ὃν αἱ μαῖαι ταῖς δυστοκούσαις ἐπὶ τὰς γαστέρας ἐπιτιθέασιν καὶ παραχρῆμα τίκτουσιν ἄτερ ἀλγηδόνος.

20, 3. Γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βοτάνη ἄξαλλα καλουμένη, μεθερμηνευομένη θερμόν· ταύτην οἱ τεταρταῖζοντες, ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους θῶσιν, ἀπαλλάττονται παραχρῆμα τῆς ἐπισημασίας, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Χρύσερμος Κορίνθιος ἐν ιγ' περὶ Ποταμῶν.

20, 4. Παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ ὄρος Δριμύλον καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται λίθος σαρδόνυχι παρόμοιος, ᾧ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις χρῶνται· ποιεῖ δὲ ἄριστα πρὸς ἀμβλυωπίας εἰς ὕδωρ θερμόν βαλλόμενος, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Νικίας ὁ Μαλλώτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λίθων.

20, 2. A stone called the aetite is formed in this river. Midwives put it on the stomach of women in labor and these instantly give birth without suffering pain.

20, 3. There is also born from this river a plant called *axalla*, which we can translate by 'hot'. Those who suffer from quartan fever, when they apply this plant to their chest, are immediately delivered from the symptoms, as reports Chrysermus of Corinth in his 13th book of *On Rivers*.

20, 4. A mountain called Drimylus stands near this river. On this mountain is produced a stone looking a lot like sardius, which kings use in their royal insignia. It works wonders against the amblyopia when it is thrown in hot water, as reports Nicias of Mallus in his *On Stones*.

Accounts of remarkable plants, animals or stones are a further way to define rivers by linking them to memorable natural facts. However, all but two of these plants, animals or stones are unknown within ancient literature. One of these exceptions is the aetite found here in the Euphrates, but here Ps-Plutarch disregards the usual effects ascribed to this stone – it prevents miscarriages but can also prevent childbirth altogether – in favor

of another one.¹⁹ Several of these stones are presented as being dubiously similar to other stones or to other objects (e.g. like a grain of salt, like pumice, like a cylinder, like beryl), while some stones or plants seem to be an excuse for the author to display his knowledge of foreign languages (e.g. *phrixa*, Scythian for 'stubbornness' and the *axalla* or 'hot', presumably in Persian).²⁰

The above passage introduces us to *On Rivers*' final deception, the numerous citations it adduces to support the information presented. Here Ps-Plutarch cites Chrysermus of Corinth's *Rivers* and Nicias of Mallus' *Stones*, two works otherwise unknown. Nicias of Mallus may be a deformation of one Nicias Maleotes cited in the *Parallela minora*, but given the spurious nature of that work as well we may be dealing with two parallel inventions.²¹ The name Chrysermus appears elsewhere in *On Rivers* as the author of *Peloponnesiaca* (book 1 is cited) and, without his ethnonym, as author of *Indica* (book 80 is cited).²² The *Parallela minora* also cite book 3 of his *Peloponnesiaca* and book 2 of his *Histories*.²³

4. *On Rivers: A Collection of Forgeries?*

Since Rudolph Hercher's 1850 edition of *On Rivers*, modern scholarship generally agrees that most of Ps-Plutarch's citations are forged. The most extreme position was taken by Felix Jacoby, who considered as a bogus citation (to take Alan Cameron's translation of Jacoby's *Schwindelautoren*) any citation by Ps-Plutarch that cannot be confirmed through an independent source.²⁴ This line has been followed more recently, albeit with a few allowances for unknown genuine citations, by Alan Cameron, Estéban Calderón Dorda and Charles Delattre.²⁵ A more sympathetic attitude toward Ps-Plutarch's sources was taken by Karl Müller,

¹⁹ Ael., *Anim.*, 1, 35 and Plin., *NH*, 36, 149–51.

²⁰ Similarity: Plut., *De fluv.*, 6, 3, 7; 6, 9, 5; 18, 3. Translations: 14, 5; 20, 4.

²¹ Plut., *Par. min.*, 308F.

²² Plut., *De fluv.*, 1, 3; 18, 7.

²³ Plut., *Par. min.*, 306B, 308B.

²⁴ Jacoby 1940, pp. 73–144.

²⁵ Cameron 2000, pp. 127–34; Calderón Dorda et al. 2003, pp. 60–91; Delattre 2011, pp. 24–30.

who included *On Rivers* in his *Geographi graeci minores*, and especially Joseph Schlereth, who attempted to identify through homonymy authors mentioned especially in the *Parallela minora* with known authors.²⁶ A more convincing case for the authenticity of Ps-Plutarch's citations, at least in the *Parallela minora*, has more recently been made by Jacques Boulogne, who argued that the great number of ancient authors and works irremediably lost to us should give us pause in rejecting citations of unknown authors.

Boulogne is right to warn against discarding unknown authors uncritically: if we consider Ps-Plutarch's citations individually, they appear no less genuine than unknown citations in other ancient texts. Problems arise however when we consider them as a group, so many problems in fact that we must ultimately reject their authenticity. Let us start with statistics. There are in *On Rivers* a total of 74 citations of 65 different works by 46 different authors.²⁷ Out of these 46 authors, 29 are known only from *On Rivers* and 15 more from both *On Rivers* and the *Parallela minora*.²⁸ Of these 15, only Chrysermus is cited for the same work, his *Peloponnesiaca*; the other 14 are known as authors of different works in *On Rivers* than in the *Parallela minora*. What is more, Ps-Plutarch's citations follow a number of patterns. References to voluminous treatises often point to book 13 (13 books of *Rivers* by Archelaus and Chrysermus of Corinth, of *Celtica* by Callisthenes of Sybaris, of *Iberica* by Sosthenes, of *Foundations* by Cleitophon, of *Trees* by Ctesiphon).²⁹ Chrysermus of Corinth's 80 books of *Indica* is a striking exception to this pattern and probably echoes the monstrous or gigantic character of Indian fauna and flora as described by Greco-Roman geographers. In any case, one would strain to imagine how this

²⁶ Müller 1861, II, pp. lii–lvii; Schlereth 1931.

²⁷ Stobaeus' quotations from *On Rivers* contain one citation missing from the ninth-century manuscript, a citation of one Archelaus (Stob., *Anth.*, 4, 36, 17 = Plut., *De fluv.*, 8, 1–2). This suggests that *On Rivers* may have originally contained even more citations, dropped by copyists at some point of the textual transmission. Delattre's recent edition restores Archelaus to Ps-Plutarch's text (Delattre 2011, p. 122), but other editors have chosen to ignore Stobaeus' testimony, e.g. Calderón Dorda et al. 2003, p. 70.

²⁸ Ziegler 1964, pp. 230–34.

²⁹ Plut., *De fluv.*, 1, 3; 6, 3–4; 16, 3; 20, 3; 23, 5.

Chrysermus could have filled 80 books of Indian stories while Strabo complained that nothing new was known about India since the days of Alexander.³⁰ A number of authorities cited by Ps-Plutarch were created by changing the ethnonym of a known author. In this way, Callisthenes of Olinthus, the biographer of Alexander the Great, becomes Callisthenes of Sybaris, the author of *On Hunting* and *Celtica* (in the *Parallela minora* he is said to have written *Metamorphoses*, *Macedonica* and *Thracica*), while the historian-geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus who wrote on the Erythraean Sea becomes the historian Agatharchides of Samos who wrote *Phrygica*, *On Stones* and *Persica*.³¹ Finally, some known authors are ascribed more-or-less plausible new books, such as Ctesias of Cnidus, author of celebrated *Indica*, who is cited for *On Rivers* and *On Mountains*, while Aristotle in a way gives his imprimatur to the whole work by being the last author cited, appropriately enough for an *On Rivers*.³² Recognizing and untangling this web of bogus citation is frustrating for the historian or philologist trying to get to some kernel of truth buried by Ps-Plutarch in his text, but can provide some geeky fun to the reader who can recognize that the only truth in each entry is to be found in its first sentence, which locates the river, and that the rest of the text is playful fabrication leading to bogus citations.

5. On Rivers: *An Authoritative Forgery in Context*

What interests me for the rest of this contribution is to examine the process by which *On Rivers* ceased to be a learned joke and became an authoritative text. After looking at authors who did read and use Ps-Plutarch's text, I will examine the late antique intellectual context that made not only possible the production of the text but also its eventual acceptance.

As we have seen, the earliest author known to have read *On Rivers* is Sopater of Apamea in the 4th century. The evidence

³⁰ Strab., 15, 1, 2–3.

³¹ Callisthenes: Plut., *De fluv.*, 4, 2; 6, 3; *Par. min.*, 306F, 307D, 313B. Agatharchides: Plut., *De fluv.*, 9, 5; 10, 5; *Par. min.*, 305E.

³² Plut. *De fluv.*, 19, 2; 21, 5; 25, 5.

for this is indirect and comes from Photius' summary of Sopater's works, made 5 centuries later. Our earliest textual testimony for Ps-Plutarch's readership comes from the 5th century, with ten citations of *On Rivers* appearing in book 4 of Stobaeus' *Anthology*, in a section about illnesses and palliatives.³³ Stobaeus plundered *On Rivers* for examples of plants used as palliatives, without indicating his source but preserving the authorities cited by Ps-Plutarch. The fifth-century treatise *On Wondrous Things Heard* mistakenly attributed to Aristotle also cites some of *On Rivers*' notices on exceptional plants and stones. Interestingly, this author lifts whole anecdotes from Ps-Plutarch and deletes not only references to Ps-Plutarch but also all sources found in *On Rivers*, except for one: an Agatharcides of Samos becomes for Ps-Aristotle an Eudoxus, possibly a misunderstanding or a play on the expertise of the most famous Agatharcides (of Cnidus) and Eudoxus (of Cnidus): astronomy.³⁴

The evidence from Stobaeus and Ps-Aristotle reveals some interest in *On Rivers* among scholarly circles in 5th-century Constantinople, presumably restricted to scholars interested in doxography and perhaps focusing on one single manuscript. It is therefore interesting to see the bureaucrat-historian John the Lydian quoting the text in his *De mensibus*, produced in Constantinople in the mid-sixth century AD. A somewhat wider readership probably accounts for *On Rivers*' ultimate survival in the Byzantine period. Besides the surviving ninth-century manuscript, we have the testimony of the scholia to Dionysius of Alexandria's *Periegesis* and Eustathius of Thessalonica's 12th-century commentary on the *Iliad*. Like Stobaeus and Ps-Aristotle before him, John the Lydian quotes Ps-Plutarch for his doxographic rather than for geographical or mythographical information, namely a stone from the Hydaspes and a fish from the Arar, both influenced by the phases of the moon.³⁵ While

³³ Stob. *Anth.*, 4, 36, 12 = Plut. *De fluv.*, 18, 1–3; 4, 36, 13 = 20, 13; 4, 36, 14 = 20, 4; 4, 36, 16 = 6, 1–3; 4, 36, 17 = 8, 1–2; 4, 36, 18 = 16, 1–2; 4, 36, 19 = 21, 1–3; 4, 36, 20 = 21, 4–5; 4, 36, 21 = 24, 1–4; 4, 36, 22 = 25, 1–3.

³⁴ Ar., *De mir. ausc.*, 847a, 173 Giannini.

³⁵ Joh. Lyd., *De mens.*, 3, 11, p. 51.16–52.6 Wünsch = Plut., *De fluv.*, 1, 2; 6, 2.

Eustathius was only interested in Ps-Plutarch's linguistic gloss on Mt Ballenaion in Phrygia, the scholiast to Dionysius copied wholesale *On Rivers*' entry on the river Hydaspes, but deleting the authorities cited by Ps-Plutarch.³⁶ We get here some indication of how *On Rivers* was read and used, probably not as a work attributed to Plutarch (although this question must remain open), but as a source of interesting information. We also glimpse the general attitudes of scholars and teachers toward sources: they did not really care about checking them and were probably not in a position to do so. Collecting extracts was also very much part of ancient and Byzantine reading practices, and this focus on parts of the text rather than the whole no doubt made it easier for *On Rivers* to be accepted as an authoritative compendium of facts and citations rather than a playful intellectual joke.³⁷

With the scholia to Dionysius Periegetes and Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*, we are moving into the realm of teaching and scholarship, which provides us valuable context for understanding the genesis and transmission of *On Rivers*. Stepping away from Ps-Plutarch for a few pages, we must take a closer look at the history of geographical teaching in Hellenistic and Roman schools. As we will see, it offers much in the way of explanation for the shape of *On Rivers*, its use of fake citations and its potential appeal and conservation by later authors.

The author's choice to structure *On Rivers* around a catalog of rivers (and a secondary, subordinate catalog of mountains) echoes similar catalogs preserved in pedagogical texts, both Latin and Greek and dating from the early Hellenistic to the late Roman era. The earliest in date is a mutilated catalog of rivers, 18 of which are still legible, preserved on the papyrus *P. Cair.* 65445, a teacher's notebook from the 3rd century BC.³⁸ Similar catalogs are found in later pedagogical texts, and one was even included by Hippolytus of Rome in his *Diamerismos*, a description of

³⁶ Euth., *Comm. Il.*, 1, 602; Schol. Dion. Per. 1139, p. 456 Müller.

³⁷ On excerpting, cf. Konstan 2011, pp. 9–22, putting Stobaeus within a long tradition of reading and excerpting.

³⁸ This papyrus was originally thought to be a model for schoolchildren: Guéraud & Jouguet 1938, p. xiv. It is now considered to be a teacher's model: Cribiore 1996, p. 269 no. 379.

the world for the edification of members of his congregation. More elaborate is the catalog of rivers found in a teacher's notebook preserved on a 2nd-century BC papyrus, the so-called *Laterculi Alexandrini* (P. Berl. 13044), which contains thematic lists covering the essentials of Greek culture: famous lawgivers, painters, sculptors, builders and inventors, the seven wonders of the world, great islands, great mountains, great rivers, beautiful sources and seas. Here is the catalog in full:

Ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Ῥάδανος ὁ κατὰ Μασσαλίαν· Τέβερης ὁ κατὰ Ῥώμην· Ἡριδανός ὁ εἰς τὸν Ἀδριαν· Ἴστρος ὁ διὰ τῆς Θράκης· Βορυσθένης ὁ διὰ τῆς Σκυθίας· Τάναϊς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων· Ὑπανίς ὁ διὰ Κιμμερίων· Φάσις ὁ διὰ Κόλχων· Θερμῶδων ὁ διὰ τῆς Ἀμαζόνικης· Ἄλις διὰ Καππαδόκων· Εὐφράτης· Τίγρις καὶ Παστίγρις· Ὑδασπης· Ἀράξης ὁ διὰ Σαρματίας· Ἀκεσίνης· Κώπης· Γάγγης [...] Βοστρήνος [...] Ἀσταβόρας δι' Αἰθιοπίας· ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ διαρεῖ δι' Ἀσπένδου ποταμὸς Εὐρυμέδων.

The Rhône in Iberia, towards Marseilles; the Tiber down to Rome; the Eridanus to the Adriatic; the Ister through Thrace; the Borysthenes through Scythia; the Tanais from the Hyperboreans; the Hypanis through the Cimmerians; the Phasis through the Colchians; the Hermodon through the Amazons; the Halys through the Cappadocians; the Euphrates; the Tigris and the Pastigris; the Hydaspes; the Araxus through Sarmatia; the Acesines; the Copes; the Ganges [...] the Bostrenos [...] the Astaboras through the Ethiopians; the Erymedon flows in Pamphylia through Aspendos.

Rather than merely enumerating rivers, the author of the *Laterculi* chose to associate a number of them with renowned peoples, cities or regions so that they could be easily memorized by students. This mnemonic device was also used by Lucius Ampelius in his *Memory Book*, which systematically associates rivers and mountains to specific regions, as does Vibius Sequester's guide to rivers, springs, lakes, groves, marshes, mountains and peoples mentioned by Latin poets.

Using catalogs rather than maps or narratives was one of the main ways to organize geographical instruction in schools, as far as such an instruction was present in students' grammatical and rhetorical education. These lists were broken down by type of geographical feature (rivers, mountains, etc.) and usually drawn

from archaic or classical Greek poetry, mythology, or selected according to other culturally meaningful criteria.³⁹ It is likely that Ps-Plutarch had such catalogs in mind when he composed *On Rivers*. He may even have been working from one specific catalog of rivers, which he harmonized with a catalog of mountains and to which he pegged information about marvelous animals, plants and minerals. By adopting as his structure a geographical catalog, he was toying with a well-established tradition and readers educated in this fashion would have recognized it.⁴⁰ That *On Rivers* was used as source material by some Byzantine educators shows how authoritative this tradition was.

The evidence from school catalogs argues against the possibility that *On Rivers* would have originally been organized following a geographical order. Only the *Laterculi* list rivers in a rough geographical order, sweeping round the Mediterranean in a clockwise manner from the Pillars of Hercules (which could explain the mistaken location of the Rhône in Iberia). Other catalogs of rivers do not follow such a strict geographical order, and we should not expect *On Rivers* to have done so at any stage of its redaction.

Looking at *On Rivers* through the lens of Greco-Roman education also gives insights into the genre of the text, which has been a frustrating topic for scholars. It has been proposed that we are dealing here with a text with hermetic and magic overtones, on account especially of the miraculous powers of stones described by Ps-Plutarch, which find some parallels in Greek treatises on gemology.⁴¹ Others have read *On Rivers* as a mythographic text, understanding the etiology of names of rivers and mountains as being the text's main feature. These two interpretations do not

³⁹ The list of rivers preserved in *P. Cair.* 65445, for example seems to focus on rivers crossed or sailed by Alexander the Great, an appropriate choice in early Ptolemaic Egypt: Debut 1983, p. 217. This papyrus also contains a mutilated list of Macedonian months and a list of Greek deities.

⁴⁰ Charles Delattre believes Ps-Plutarch's catalog of rivers follows some hidden order based on onomastic wordplay. Whether this is true or not, the order followed by the author is not geographical and cannot be easily grasped by readers (Delattre 2017, p. 79).

⁴¹ e.g. 11, 4; 17, 2; 23, 3. This interpretation has been put forward by de Mély 1892, pp. 327–40 and was most recently re-stated by Halleux & Schamp 1985, p. xxv.

make sense from the point of view of the organization of the text, which is chiefly geographical. Although Müller was wrong to accept Ps-Plutarch's sources uncritically, he was right to consider *On Rivers* as a geographical text. As we have seen, the structure mirrors that of pedagogic geographical catalogs. If we turn to the contents of the text, we see it mirrors school practice. The content too is geographical, provided we understand what geography was for ancient readers.

Indeed, ancient geography presents itself in two aspects: mathematical geography, concerned with the division and measurement of the earth, and descriptive geography, the literary description of places.⁴² In the school tradition, the emphasis was resolutely on the latter kind of geography, and teaching the world to students meant teaching stories attached to places, which served to make places worthy of note and memory. For example, Roman teachers did not concern themselves with the fact that Delos is an island of the Aegean Sea located close to Mykonos, but rather with the mythological fact that Delos had been a wandering island until it became anchored when Latona came to it to give birth to Apollo and Diana.⁴³ The example just given comes from commentary on the *Aeneid* written by the grammarian Servius, who is one of the best guides to the kind of definition of places current in Roman and late Roman schools. Servius teaches students not only to flesh out geographic catalogs (in his case the *Aeneid* itself can be considered to be a long catalog of places, people and *realia* to be defined and expanded upon) but also how to name-drop authorities when talking about places.⁴⁴ In many instances, he defines places mentioned by Virgil through mythological stories recalling those favored by Ps-Plutarch, for example in his entry on *Aeneid*, 1, 67:

TYRRHENIUM – *Tyrrhenum mare dictum est uel quod Tusciam adluit, id est Tyrrheniam, uel a Tyrrhenis nautis, qui se in hoc mare praecipitauerunt. namque hoc habet fabula,*

⁴² Cf. the division and examples of Dueck 2012.

⁴³ Serv., *Aen.*, 3, 73.

⁴⁴ Although it is now recognized that Servius' commentary was written for teachers rather than for students, I consider the outcome to be basically the same: teaching transmitted to the student, with or without an intermediary.

dormientem in litore Liberum patrem puerum nautas abstulisse Tyrrhenos. qui cum esset expectatus in naui, quo ducetur rogauit; responderunt illi, quo uellet. Liber ait ad Naxum insulam sibi sacratam. at coeperunt alio uela deflectere, quam ob rem iratum numen tigres sibi sacratas iussit uideri, quo terrore se illi in fluctus dedere praecipites.

TYRRHENIAN [SEA] – The Tyrrhenian sea is called so either because it is near Etruria, that is Tyrrhenia, or from the Tyrrhenian sailors who plunged into it. This is what the legend says: Tyrrhenian pirates kidnapped Father Liber, who was still a child and was sleeping on a shore. When he awoke on the ship he asked where he was being taken; they answered: where he wished. Liber told them to set a course for his sacred island of Naxos. But they turned their sails elsewhere, and for this reason the god summoned tigers, who are sacred to him, and out of fear the sailors threw themselves into the tides.

Servius grudgingly acknowledged the obvious origin of the Tyrrhenian Sea's name – it is the sea close to Tyrrhenia (Etruria) – but his interest lies with a hidden meaning encountered during his own research or handed down to him by the commentary tradition on Virgil: the sea was named after the Etruscan sailors who drowned in it. The grammarian does not pretend Virgil intended this allusion, but he uses it as a pretext to retell a story that would be useful to the student, who may encounter it again in other Latin texts. It is found in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, which Servius no doubt knew, and in Seneca's *Oedipus*, which he most probably did not.⁴⁵ Hopefully, Servius' former students may also later choose to retell this localized mythological story in conversation or declamation. Philostratus the Elder and Nonnus of Panopolis are witness to the popularity of this story in the late antique Greek east, underlining the fact that Servius (unlike Ps-Plutarch) wrote down mythological stories that were socially useful to students, i.e. liable to be recognized and appreciated by an educated readership.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ov., *Met.*, 3, 572–691; 4, 22; 422; Sen., *Oed.*, 449. On Servius' familiarity with the *Metamorphosis*, see Pellizzari 2003, p. 238.

⁴⁶ Philostr., *Imag.*, 1, 19; Nonn., *Dion.*, 45, 105–68.

Servius also taught students to cite respected authorities when discussing places. In a remarkable passage of his commentary on the *Aeneid*, he lists the proper authorities to cite when discussing cities.⁴⁷ Regarding cities of the whole world two geographers stand out: Ptolemy in Greek and the Elder Pliny in Latin. For Italian matters however the grammarian directs us to Hyginus, a librarian at the Palatine Library under Augustus who notably wrote historical works such *On the Origin and Sites of Italian Cities*, and to Cato's *Origines*. We can be fairly certain that Servius never read any of these authors, but he nevertheless instructed students to remember their area of expertise on account of the authority attached to their name. He also showed this by his own example, bringing up Cato's and Sallust's authorities to resolve the crux offered by *Aeneid*, 1, 6, to the effect that Aeneas brought his gods to Latium but that only later would the Latin nation come into being. To resolve the apparent contradiction, Servius brings up a passage of Cato's *Origines*, which he says was accepted as true by Sallust in his *War with Catiline*, to the effect that Italy was originally held by the Aborigines, but that after the coming Aeneas' Phrygians to Italy and the joining of both populations, they were called by the one name of Latins. Servius clearly did not have Sallust's text in front of him when writing this notice, since Sallust does not mention Cato's *Origines* at all. One suspects he in fact never had access to this text.

As will be obvious by now, Ps-Plutarch's geographical notices echo elements of geographical teaching found in late Roman schools, including the geographic catalogs, the definition of places through myth and the use of authoritative but unread authors to support controversial statements. I have been using Servius as an example of grammarians' teaching in late Roman schools, because he is our best evidence and to underline the fact that we are dealing with a kind of teaching well established in all parts of the Roman world, both Latin and Greek (for example, the same basic lessons can be learned from looking at the oldest scholia to Homer). It is within this context that we should understand Ps-Plutarch's *On Rivers*. It is a parody of the geographical, myth-

⁴⁷ Serv., *Aen.*, 7, 678.

ological and doxographic instruction current in Hellenistic and Roman schools. It also parodies ancient mythographic and doxographic scholarship, which was never really separate from school instruction but shared contents and practices, as we can see from Servius' use of the Elder Pliny's encyclopedia and Solinus' geography in his commentary on Virgil.⁴⁸ *On Rivers* has much in common with ancient parodies of scholarship and serious literature made for entertainment by ancient teachers, students or educated men, including the grammarian Ptolemy Chennus' *Paradoxical History* twisting of mythological stories, Lucian's mocking of journey narratives, mythological poetry and possibly philosophical speculation in his *True Stories*, or the informed parodies of legal formula in Varro's *Testamentum* and the 4th-century *Testamentum Porcelli*.⁴⁹ Modern parallels are readily available, from Isaac Asimov's playful academic paper *The Endochronic Properties of Resublimated Thiotimoline* to the online *Postmodern Generator*, with its Ps-Plutarchean false citations and made-up arguments.

Charles Delattre has put forward the theory that our text is a meditative aide-mémoire compiled by an ancient reader to help memorize a series of names of rivers and mountains, making up appropriate etiologies and playful references for each.⁵⁰ Although hyper-educated ancient writers were certainly not above this kind of elaborate intellectual feat, this theory fails here for three reasons. First, it assumes that Ps-Plutarch's detailed mythological and natural details made the catalogue of rivers and mountains easier to remember, which is doubtful. Second, the amount of erudition displayed by the author makes it quite improbable that he would have needed to brush up on this list of rivers and mountains (included some invented ones). Finally,

⁴⁸ The case of Sardonic laughter, caused by ingestion of a Sardinian plant, which make men die with a grimace of pain, in Sall., *Hist. fr.*, 2, 10 Maurenbrecher; Solin., 4, 4; Serv., *Ecl.*, 7, 41; and *Pan. Lat.* 25, 4 reveals a striking link between historical literature, scientific literature, school teaching and public declamation.

⁴⁹ On Ptolemy Chennus: Cameron 2000, pp. 134–59. On Lucian (who notably condemns as liars Ctesias of Cnidus and Herodotus at *VH*, 2, 31): von Möllendorff 2000, pp. 1–29 and Georgiadou & Larmour 1998, pp. 310–25 on the philosophical angle. On the *Testamentum Porcelli* (and Varro): Champlin 1987, p. 182.

⁵⁰ Delattre 2017, pp. 62–68.

Ps-Plutarch is working explicitly against a proper identification of rivers and mountains. One of Servius' lessons is that students need to know authoritative stories about places which they are liable to encounter elsewhere or that they must be able to tell to fellow educated Romans who would recognize their erudition. *On Rivers* achieves the opposite: it teaches stories that are not part of the common network of myths and legends prized by educated Romans, and leaves it to its readers to recognize how they allude and play on this common core of stories.

This discussion assumes that *On Rivers* has a practical purpose, and we must recognize that aside from the usual benefits of intellectual play, there is no purpose to the whole enterprise. It is a joke, and we must approach it as such. It has still much to say about late Roman intellectual life, but as an elaborate puzzle readers must solve. The occasional polish of the text together with the vast number of literary allusions and linguistic twists furthermore point to an erudite author thoroughly grounded in grammatical practice. However, because Ps-Plutarch used so effectively the structure and technique of school texts and of scholarly texts written in the grammatical tradition, *On Rivers* came to be regarded as authoritative by some late Roman scholars, first of all doxographers, and was finally used as a source for didactic texts, the very genre Ps-Plutarch was parodying.

6. *On Rivers and Early Byzantine Historiographers*

We have seen that 5th- and 6th-century Constantinople was a crucial period of interest in *On Rivers*. To finish, I wish to refine somewhat our understanding of attitudes toward citations in this period, for further hints into possible reactions to Ps-Plutarch's fake citations. Let us consider two notable cases of source citations by the sixth-century historians Evagrius Scholasticus and John Malalas. These authors are linked geographically, hailing from Antioch. While Malalas sought fortune in Constantinople, his younger contemporary remained behind and attached himself to the patriarch of Antioch. More importantly, both sought prestige and patronage by writing a history making extensive use of a previous historian active in Antioch, Eustathius of

Epiphania. How they approached this source material speaks volumes on late antique attitudes toward sources and academic honesty.

John Malalas' *Chronicle* contains references to 75 different authors, a third of which are known only through this text. But while Ps-Plutarch playfully added forged citations to a text probably intended as a pastiche or a joke, Malalas used bogus citations in an attempt to bolster his credentials as a writer of history.⁵¹ Warren Treadgold has suggested that Malalas was a fraud who followed only one source, Eustathius of Epiphania, whose unfinished universal history he had read in Antioch before moving to Constantinople to seek a lucrative career in the imperial bureaucracy.⁵² By publishing a work of history, he sought to attract the patronage of a high official, and he invented a number of fake citations to distract readers from the fact that he was following only one source.

Evagrius did not indulge in fabrication and was a competent and conscientious historian. In his zeal, he nevertheless displayed another, minor vice: the bombastic display of sources he did not consult. Book 5 of his *Ecclesiastical History*, covering the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius II, ends with a chronological survey of sacred and secular historians lending authority to Evagrius' narrative, including Ephorus, Theopompus, (Isidorus of?) Charax, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, Cassius Dio, Herodian, Nicostratus of Trapezus, Dexippus, Eusebius, Arrian and Asinius Quadratus.⁵³ Evagrius is unlikely to have consulted more than a handful of these authors, if any. The language he uses to refer to them mirrors that of Ps-Plutarch and Servius, who would not disavow an entry such as this one: "Ὅσα δὲ εἴτε μυθώδη εἴτε μετὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν γεγένηται [...] Χάρακι τε γέγραπται καὶ Ἐφόρῳ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναρίθμους ('All that happened, whether in legend or in fact [...] has been written down by Charax and Ephorus and Theopompus and innumerable others'). We can now recognize this phrasing as signaling a certain educated guesswork and assumption that

⁵¹ On Malalas' sources, cf. Jeffreys 1990, pp. 167–216.

⁵² Treadgold 2007, pp. 251–52.

⁵³ Evagr. *HE* 5, 24.

readers would not seek to investigate further. In all probability, Evagrius lifted this catalog of sources from the 6th-century historian Eustathius of Epiphania.⁵⁴ Evagrius acknowledged his debt to Eustathius, but nevertheless chose to list this impressive sequence of past historians to lend credence and authority to his own historical narrative despite being in no position to check his sources.

Evagrius' attitude toward unseen sources is of particular interest because we can put him in contact with a sixth-century library where a copy of Ps-Plutarch may have been found. His *Ecclesiastical History* names together Arrian, Phlegon of Tralles and Strabo, three authors preserved together three centuries later in the Heidelberg manuscript also containing *On Rivers*, and already consulted as a group by Stephanus of Byzantium in the early sixth century, together with other texts of the future Heidelberg manuscript.⁵⁵ Presumably Evagrius read these authors, or at least perused the manuscript or manuscripts containing them in a library in Constantinople. If he read *On Rivers*, there is no trace of it in his writings. But we can see in his use of historical citations how he would have been liable to accept wholesale Ps-Plutarch's fictitious citations, and by extension other readers less scrupulous than him.

What I hope to have shown is that there was a very fine line between fraud and carelessness in late antique and Byzantine scholarship. Ascribing information to authors one had not read

⁵⁴ Whitby 2000, p. 287 n. 86. It is quite possible and even probable that Eustathius himself reproduced this list from an earlier authority and did not consult these authors. By the 6th century, Ephorus and Theopompus were more names than texts, and probably Claudius Charax and Asinius Quadratus as well. The presence of the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius in this list of secular historians could indicate, as per M. Whitby, that Evagrius misunderstood Eustathius' catalog; it could also be an earlier mistake, transmitted uncritically by both historians.

⁵⁵ Evagr., *HE*, 1, 20. Cf. Diller 1954, p. 46 n. 39; Marcotte, pp. cxliii–cxliv. Whether Ps-Plutarch's *On Rivers* was already found in this sixth-century collection is a matter of conjecture, but it is likely on account of the geographic and paradoxographic sources cited by Evagrius and Stephanus, which are found in sequence in *Palatinus Heidelbergensis* gr. 398 rather than separately. Furthermore, Ps-Aristotle's *On Wondrous Things Heard* uses Hanno's *Periplus* and excerpts from Strabo in addition to Ps-Plutarch, all texts that found their way into the Heidelberg manuscript.

was a genuine scholarly practice, taught to pupils in schools and probably encouraged by the scarcity of books. One could even invent authors, books and citations, perhaps with minimal risk. In sum, there existed a broad spectrum of culturally acceptable guesswork and fabrication. It is in this context that Ps-Plutarch wrote and that some careless readers mistook *On Rivers* for a genuine geographical or doxographical work, whereas it was in fact a good, learned joke.

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Abstract

The 3rd-century treatise *On Rivers* mistakenly attributed to Plutarch is a catalog of 25 rivers and mountains. It has long been recognized that much of the information transmitted by this text is false and that the large number of authorities referenced by Ps-Plutarch are fabrications. A closer examination of the type of geographical information found in the text reveals that it mirrors the kind of geographical education found in Greece and Rome: localized myths, history and remarkable minerals, plants and animals. Ps-Plutarch's practice of citing authorities to which neither the author nor his readers have access also finds a parallel in the geographical teaching of Roman grammarians. *On Rivers* is therefore a pastiche of geographical education and geographical scholarship. Ps-Plutarch's close adherence to the proper forms of geographical scholarship ensured that his text was eventually read as a genuine geographical treatise by authors who did not have the liberty to investigate further.

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RUFINUS VERSUS JEROME IN THE FALSIFICATION AFFAIR

1. *Preface: A Tricky Story and its Implications*

In the early 380s, a spectacular case of falsification took place in Rome. Only a later conflict between the former friends Rufinus of Aquileia and Jerome of Stridon during the first Origenist controversy provided its literary documentation and thus our only evidence today. In the centre of this falsification affair stood a certain *libellus* or *liber Athanasii*, a work under the name of the famous bishop of Alexandria, who died in 373. It was altered – with success – at a crucial passage by a clever manipulation, which took into account common expectations about the making and abuse of manuscripts.

A closer look at the affair brings up different questions of interest, since the story, as short as it may be, touches a wide range of aspects concerning falsification, forgery and authority. As a consequence, I will first present a more simple, but inspiring case of falsification to set up some general factors which must be taken into consideration, when an ancient report about the falsification of a document is to be assessed (2). After some necessary terminological and church historical clarifications (3), I will turn to the main topic of my article and give an analysis of the report of the affair itself, which is found in Rufinus' *De adulteratione librorum Origenis*, the first Christian work ever dedicated to falsification and forgery and thus worth some side glances too (4).¹

¹ Since on the one hand, Rufinus' work seems to be an interesting source as a whole, but on the other, its reliability has already been questioned by Jerome (see 4), I added as an appendix a comparative table of Rufinus' and Jerome's claims about evidence of falsification(s).

One main interest in hitherto scholarship on the affair has been the identification of the *libellus/liber Athanasii*, which was falsified. I will thus try to illuminate the story behind the story by reassessing the former attempts of identification. As I will try to show, an until now usually rather neglected ‘candidate’, the Latin pseudo-Athanasian *De trinitate, liber XI*, has at least a higher probability than the other known ones. Since I will propose an identification of its author, a Roman Luciferian, this will lead to a new suggestion for the meaning of the falsification affair as a whole (5). Looking back at the affair then, the question must be answered, how it could have happened that Jerome had been deceived not only by Apollinarists, but also by the Luciferians, against whom he had written a dialogue. Being a part of the Origenist controversy by its documentation, the consequences of this affair will also be estimated by a short look at the further quarrels between Rufinus and Jerome, thus identifying the winners and losers in these events (6). Since it was not the aim of Rufinus and Jerome to reconstruct all aspects of this affair in a historical-critical manner, some hypotheses will be necessary to draw a full picture. I will try to differentiate between more and less secure results, so that the reader can decide how far to follow (7). Some general conclusions about forgery and falsification will close this case study (8).

2. *A Story before the Story*

Sometimes fiction is best if it is not recognized as such. Cicero’s *orationes Verrinae* for the *actio secunda* may be such a case, since this main part of the legal proceedings against the former *pro-praetor* of Sicily (73–71 BC) never happened.² But the ambitious lawyer was obviously too well prepared to skip the collected

² In the *actio prima* Cicero had evaded the attempt of Hortensius, Verres’ defence counsel, to slow down the legal proceedings by presenting witnesses and other evidence without the usual introduction (cf. his announcement at the end of act. I, 55–56; in comparison to the act. II speech[es] it is important to note that here is no attempt to simulate actions like presenting material evidence to the judges). Thus, after the *actio prima* there was no serious chance left for Verres to break the lockstep. Friends recommended he go into immediate exile. For an introduction to the whole affair and its literary making see Frazel 2004, pp. 128–42.

material.³ Instead, he created a series of speeches which contained all actions that might have taken place in the real proceedings, including orders to the court ushers to show pieces of evidence and direct addresses to the judges as well as to his opponents. Therefore, the fictional *orationes* of the *actio secunda* (provided by the subdivision of the text into *libri*) offered Cicero the opportunity to present his rising star to Rome's reading public and thus to display his triumph over the hitherto leading lawyer Hortensius in the way the relevant circles would expect. The fiction of Cicero convicting Verres by a perfect combination of meticulous search for evidence, rhetorical technique and patriotic motivation seemed to be an attractive means to advance his authority as a lawyer as well as a politician.⁴ For this aim he formed the literary basis needed to influence the collective memory of the case *contra factum*.⁵

But although Cicero was busy making his fiction look real over against the historical reality, no one criticized him for that – probably for two reasons: First, everybody knew the real end of the story, so nobody felt deceived by Cicero telling it in another way.⁶ Second, the pieces of evidence he used were in fact what they were.⁷ So the main fiction was not that Verres really was

³ This is the *opinio communis* about the making of the *libri actionis secundae*; see Frazel 2004, pp. 138–41, who critically assesses diverging explanations, and Frazel 2009, p. 18, based on the wider observations by Alexander 2002, pp. 26–28.45–51.

⁴ For Cicero's career see e.g. Fuhrmann 1992. The publication of the *Verrines* seems to have taken place as a single action, cf. Frazel 2004, pp. 133–34. Thus even the speech of the *actio prima* (maybe as well as the *Divinatio in Caecilium*), written after the event just like the *libri actionis secundae*, became part of the greater construct – and, as it seems, was adapted in its sense to them (see Gurd 2010, pp. 94–95).

⁵ For this perspective on the case see Gurd 2010, pp. 80–101.

⁶ Cf. Gurd 2010, pp. 90–91. It should be taken into account that Cicero had won in reality as well as in his literary fiction. The latter should magnify his prestige, not change the result. Contemporary readers would have been able to identify the fiction also by its length, which exceeds normal court conditions (cf. Alexander 2002, p. 51). Of course, later generations could misunderstand the literary scenario as the image of history; cf. Gurd 2010, p. 92.

⁷ There is a wide consensus that Cicero used real evidence. This is emphasized by Frazel 2004, pp. 129–33, whose attempt to reconstruct Cicero's stages of preparing the legal proceedings is perhaps not as striking in the question of historical reliability as he thought; see the reaction of Gurd 2010, p. 81 n. 11. But it may be enough to state with Classen 1998, p. 124, that the *Verrines* them-

guilty, but that Cicero would have done a perfect job if there had been the opportunity. Composing a successful speech (as was – with modifications – the case for the *actio prima*) turned into shaping authority by presenting the ‘right’ image of oneself.

As a consequence of this scenario the evidence presented by Cicero can offer some insights into the practice of falsification in Verres’ time. In reference to the main task of my contribution, one case is of special interest:⁸

When Cicero undertook some investigations into Verres’ tricks and crimes, he got to know a company of *publicani*, which earned money not only by collecting the *scriptura* (‘pasture tax’; cf. *Verr.* II 2, 196), but also by lending credits to people who had arbitrarily been accused by the governor and thus had to pay a bribe to avert greater disaster.⁹ The concept made him curious,

selves show how near Sicily could be in cases of complaint to Rome about things going wrong. This would surely also have worked the other way round, if Cicero had presented bogus material. Concerning this risk for his success it is probable that he exaggerated the cases by putting them in a broader narrative, but worked on a generally reliable basis which could be assessed by the historian.

⁸ It is interesting to note that the *Verrines* report a plurality of cases concerning the crime of falsification: On the one hand, Cicero points out that Verres falsified documents such as court protocols to make some of his criminal actions seem legal (cf. the case of Sthenius in *Verr.* II 2, 101; for other examples of Verres’ falsifications see Gurd 2010, pp. 86–87, who may be, however, a bit misleading in emphasizing that the Sthenius affair differs from others by the claim of public knowledge instead of documentary evidence, since no such evidence is presented to the fictional audience before, e.g. *Verr.* II 1, 100, while *Verr.* II 2, 104, the falsified protocol about Sthenius’ case is shown: *Cedo, quaeso, codicem, circumfer, ostende!*). On the other hand, he arbitrarily accused or allowed to be accused innocent people who resisted him of having falsified *litterae publicae* of their hometown (cf. the same case *Verr.* II 2, 90). Cicero emphasizes in the latter cases that Verres never presented the distorted *tabulae* as evidence but just claimed the alleged crimes. However, until the end of act. II or. II Cicero, except in the Sthenius affair, likewise limits himself to assert that all narrated cases of Verres’ falsifications were well known and *could* thus be proved by witnesses or evidence from the documents (which he estimates higher than the testimony of witnesses!); cf. the end of act. II lib. I. But (apart from the short order in *Verr.* II 2, 104) only the presentation of the Carpinatius affair included a real show of the material evidence (see below). So this episode’s closing act. II lib. II corresponds to the end of act. II lib. I and marks a high point in the chain of evidence offered until then. For the great importance of documents in the *Verrines* see the full list by Alexander 2002, pp. 259–62.

⁹ For the difference in collecting the *scriptura* and the grain tithe in Sicily see Frazel 2009, pp. 196–97; a wider scope of Cicero’s Sicily is provided by Dubouloz & Pittia 2007. For the bribe system it must be noted that Cicero shows

since it was probable that Verres himself was involved here.¹⁰ And so he began searching for documents referring to the years of Verres' government.¹¹ What Cicero detected was little at the first glance, but striking at the second, as we can see from his description:

186 *Nunc ad sociorum tabulas accepti et expensi, quas remouere honeste nullo modo potuerunt, et ad amicum tuum Carpinatium reuertemur. Inspiciebamus Syracusis a Carpinatio confectas tabulas societatis, quae significabant multis nominibus eos homines uersuram a Carpinatio fecisse qui pecunias Verri dedissent. Quod erit uobis luce clarius, iudices, tum cum eos ipsos produxero qui dederunt. Intellegitis enim illa tempora [...] cum societatis tabulis non solum consulibus, uerum etiam mensibus convenire.*

187 *Cum haec maxime cognosceremus et in manibus tabulas haberemus, repente aspicimus lituras eiusmodi quasi quaedam uulnera tabularum recentia. [...] Erant acceptae pecuniae C. VERRUCIO C. F., sic tamen ut usque ad alterum R litterae constarent integrae, reliquae omnes essent in litura; alterum tertium quartum, permulta erant eiusdemmodi nomina. Cum manifesta res flagitiosa litura tabularum atque [...] turpitudine teneretur, quaerere incipimus de Carpinatio quisnam is esset Verrucius [...]. Haerere homo, uersari, rubere. [...]*

188 *Rem ad Metellum defero [...]; in his tabulis magnam rationem C. Verruci permultis nominibus esse, meque hoc perspicere ex consulum mensumque ratione, hunc Verrucium neque ante adventum C. Verris neque post decessionem quicquam cum Carpinatio rationis habuisse; postulo ut mihi respondeat, qui sit is Verrucius [...]. Clamare omnes ex conventu neminem umquam in Sicilia fuisse Verrucium. Ego instare, [...] cur seruius societatis, qui tabulas conficeret, semper in Verruci nomine certo ex loco mendosus esset.*

in *Verr.* II 2 enough examples of Verres' resistant victims and their fate to understand why others paid at once when they were accused.

¹⁰ Just as he asserted to be able to prove Verres' adulteration of documents, Cicero was up to this point at pains to convince his literary audience of crime-related payments to Verres by a rethoric of general plausibility (cf. e.g. *Verr.* II 2, 119.42). It is only now that he presents real evidence.

¹¹ For Cicero's investigations precluding the now following finale see *Verr.* II 2, 169–85. The structure of Carpinatius' company in which he held a position *pro magistro* was analysed by Badian 1972, pp. 71–81.

189 [...] *illum in iure metu conscientiaque peccati mutum atque exanimatum [...] relinquo, tabulas in foro summa hominum frequentia exscribo; adhibentur in scribendo ex conventu viri primarii, litterae lituraeque omnes assimilatae et expressae de tabulis in libros transferuntur.*

190 [...] *Atque ne hoc aut longius aut obscurius esse possit, procedite in medium atque explicate descriptionem imaginemque tabularum, ut omnes mortales istius auaritiae non iam uestigia, sed ipsa cubilia uidere possint.*

191 *Liber explicetur. – Videtis Verrucium? Videtis primas litteras integras? Videtis extremam partem nominis, codam illam Verrinam tamquam in luto demersam esse in litura? Sic habent se tabulae, iudices, ut uidetis. Quid expectatis, quid quaeritis amplius? Tu ipse Verres [...], quid moraris? Nam aut exhibeas nobis Verrucium necesse est aut te Verrucium esse fateare!*¹²

Falsification is sometimes a simple phenomenon. It is, in its technical as well as in its intellectual sense, not difficult *per se* to interpolate, shorten or modify a text.¹³ According to Cicero's rather technical account, the case of Verres' 'disappearing' from the *tabulae accepti et expensi* detected by him is such a simple phenomenon: The name in the *tabulae* was altered by a partial erasure to avoid embarrassing questions about the criminal actions of the former governor of Sicily. The detection of the action, on the other hand, was an important proof in the legal proceedings that should follow. In the whole event, personal authority plays no significant part.¹⁴ Hence the deed being formally a case of falsification shows that falsification – as well as forgery – and personal authority are *not* necessarily connected, if we look at the wide range of situations in which falsification (or forgery)

¹² Cicero, Verr. II 2, 186–91 = 183, 29–190, 10 Peterson.

¹³ *Mutatis mutandis* the same may be the case in placing another one's name above or under (one's own or) any text. If it was a question of selling or not selling a book, the indication of a wrong author might be a bold means of business for a pragmatic bookseller in antiquity. Examples of this kind were collected by Speyer 1971, pp. 133–34.

¹⁴ Instead, there is an important abstract authority in form of the *tabulae accepti et expensi*. As Meyer 2004, pp. 30–34, has shown, these as well as other types of *tabulae* in Roman times were seen as undisputable written evidence on their own. Thus their alteration was punished as falsification; cf. Meyer 2004, p. 34 n. 74.

may take place. On the other hand, the simple case of the altered *tabulae* was taken to court (although fictionally) and worked as a strong testimony, so that the falsification had a juridical effect.

The Carpinatius affair is in some respect a high point in the series of evidence against Verres. It may be more heartrending to read the case of the old Heraclius told before, where a black picture of the innocent victims' fate is painted.¹⁵ But while in this case it is obvious that Cicero is relying primarily on suggestion and that evidence (as in most cases) is only promised to be available,¹⁶ he now seems to present hard facts immediately and evidence for crime-related payments to Verres only now. By the end of *liber* II, one could say, all former accusations seem to be verified, since it may be now absolutely certain that the prosecutor will prove all other accusations, too.

But a second look at Cicero's procedure reveals a certain inconsistency. As Sean Gurd has pointed out, Cicero seems to have taken copies of the *tabulae* in the form of papyrus scrolls.¹⁷ This implies a change of the material, since the *tabulae* consisted of thin pieces of wood containing a layer of wax. And it was the special qualities of the wax which made the *tabulae* such striking evidence: One could write on it only once regularly – all later modifications would harm the wax structure and thus stay visible with no chance to hide them. But how does one copy the manipulations in the wax *tabulae* when using papyrus (and ink), which was not suited to imitate the *liturae* in the wax structure (since it is impossible to smear ink on papyrus just like wax)? So in this understanding of § 189–91, Cicero's claim for decisive evidence before his fictional audience is based on a kind of 'drawing' at best. This may display all relevant details well enough to follow his report, but it leaves open a space of doubt concerning its persuasiveness. Cicero fills this space by emphasizing the

¹⁵ See *Verr.* II 2, 35–50.

¹⁶ See *Verr.* II 2, 50 and for promises of evidence in general note 8 and 10.

¹⁷ Gurd 2010, pp. 96–99. His translation of *liber* with 'papyrus scroll' makes his understanding of the passage clear. The main evidence may be, however, Cicero's formulation *explicare descriptionem imaginemque tabularum* (II 2, 190) as well as his order *liber explicetur* (II 2, 191), since the meaning of *explicare* implies the rolling out of a written document, which is the case for papyrus scrolls, but not for wooden *tabulae*.

trustworthiness of the copyists as *viri primarii* and by describing his investigations as detailed as possible.

These observations should not make Cicero a liar like Verres.¹⁸ They rather illuminate an aspect which is relevant even in this quite simple case: Besides the mere facts there is often a need for argumentation when you want to convince others to understand a deed as falsification with all the criminal implications depending on it. In the case of Carpinatius and the *Verrines*, we have at first glance wax *tabulae*, where a name was changed which began with VERR. Only in combination with the fact that the changes exclusively belonged to Verres' time in Sicily, and first of all after the long list of crimes told before, it is plausible to a reader that not only Verrucius and Verres were identical, but that the change was made to hush up criminal activities, i.e. that a *dolus malus* case was at stake.

Looking back at the Carpinatius affair and its literary representation, some basic factors of falsification told by the sources can be determined, which should be taken in mind for further analyses:

1. the material components
2. the way they were manipulated
3. the aims connected with this
4. the way and the context in which the whole story is told
5. the aims of the story-teller.

These factors can be divided into two groups: 1–3 form a historical event, which is told and interpreted in a second step by 4–5.¹⁹

¹⁸ Gurd 2010, *passim*, is well aware of the differences. He nonetheless emphasizes the similarity of Cicero's and Verres' dealing with collective memory, since neither of them took the hard facts as they were. I am not sure whether Cicero really planned to change the collective memory of the Verres proceedings in its entirety, as Gurd 2010, pp. 83–84, suggests and I think it is important to emphasize much more the aspect of deception, which is (notwithstanding the above mentioned complication) absent in Cicero; thus the title 'Verres and the scene of *rewriting*' defuses the deed in the Carpinatius affair in a way which seems unknown to antiquity; cf. Meyer 2004, p. 34, and for falsification and forgery as serious cases in general Speyer 1971.

¹⁹ Of course, this scheme implies that 3 is told (basically) rightly in the literary form of 4.

Even if the case itself is quite evident like in the Carpinatius affair, the representation of authority may play a significant role on the literary level (4/5) – in our case as Cicero's authority, who presented himself as the perfect lawyer. The affair also reminds us that we mostly think of *personal* authority when we connect this concept with cases of falsification (or forgery). What keeps the Carpinatius affair quite simple is the fact that in the historical event itself only the distorted *tabulae* represented authority in a very abstract form, while the real concern was to cover up monetary transactions prosaically.²⁰

But personal authority can be relevant on more than one level. And turning now to the main subject of this contribution, concerning a case of falsification in the late fourth century and its consequences at the turn to the fifth, things become more complicated, and so there is a need for some clarifications.

3. *Changing Authority: Terminological and Church Historical Preconditions*

In Christian tradition, one could say that the deceptive use of texts played a role from a very early stage. But there, for the cases we know, money was no relevant factor. Instead, the key-interest of many dealings with texts was to gain influence on the opinions and mostly the beliefs of other Christians and non-Christians as well. Due to this focus, the personal authority of a text's author – the factor missing in the case of Carpinatius' *tabulae* – was of crucial importance here: Being from the pen of an apostle or well-known author (e.g. a bishop) a text might receive the attention which an anonymous one would miss. However, there was not always an authority's text which settled one's question (in the way wished) – and thus a wide range of 'alternative means' emerged, which need to be differentiated.

The history of research shows that there is no complete consensus on terminology concerning manipulations of text and authorship to this date.²¹ A neutral generic term could be 'pseud-

²⁰ Cf. note 13.

²¹ The main attempts of last hundred years' research were reassessed by Janßen 2003. The (despite all predecessors) seminal work of Speyer 1971 is still domi-

epigraphy', generally stating that a person is falsely presented as a text's author by placing his or her name above or under it. This may happen at the time of writing or centuries after that, possibly even by mere chance.²² In this perspective, 'forgery' is a special case of pseudepigraphy which is characterized by the will to deceive the reader about the text's real author to achieve a non-literary goal.²³ While pseudepigraphy as well as forgery point to a false byline of a text, the modification of the text itself could be named 'falsification' as an equivalent for Speyer's German 'Verfälschung'.²⁴ Another term which would lead us back to Latin antiquity directly is 'adulteration'. It implies a deterioration of the modified text, by which it has a rather polemical connotation and thus fits well to describe the ancient protagonist's view of the cases I will present hereafter. The idea behind the term 'adulteration' links cases of falsification to those of forgery, although the technical procedure is different: In any case it is supposed that a person of authority is the ideal or the only possible author at all to produce a text which settles serious problems or gives central issues their final form.²⁵ On the other hand, detected

nant although criticized for (not only terminological) constructions like 'echte religiöse Pseudepigraphie' (Speyer 1971, pp. 35–37). As a point of reference it still seems helpful to distinguish some basic categories, which I will characterize hereafter. In the Leuven conference's final discussion there has been the suggestion to do without such categories, especially to avoid the *dolus malus* implications highlighted by Speyer. This may be an interesting suggestion for the mere literary examples presented at Leuven, but as some cases presented here will document, is no way for large parts of ancient Christianity.

²² For examples see Speyer 1971, pp. 41–42. Janßen 2003, p. 255, thus distinguishes 'primäre' and 'sekundäre Pseudepigraphie'.

²³ This is the basic definition by Speyer 1971, pp. 13–14, for 'Fälschung' used 'mit außerliterarischer Zielsetzung' (14).

²⁴ Speyer 1971, pp. 18–21. It may be due to the range of meaning of the word 'falsification' that it had been chosen for the conference title 'Falsification and Authority'. I therefore point out to the fact that I use the term in the above mentioned specific meaning here.

²⁵ Questions of form may be relevant e.g. for creeds or liturgical texts. Considering examples especially from pagan antiquity another aspect seems to be relevant: Forgery could have been used to assume someone's authority as literary figure such that merely the literary quality of a text is concerned. But as far as the examples collected by Speyer 1971, pp. 131–32 and others show, this seemed to be no relevant category in the Christianity of the first four centuries, while it became one later on. Equally money as motive for forgery was a rather late phenomenon, since it probably implies a developed Christian book market

cases of attributing a false author to a text (which means forgery) or changing the wording of a(n authority's) text to influence its content (which means falsification/adulteration) were always, at least potentially, cases of *scandalon* and dispute about authority.²⁶

But authority was not always a stable quality of Christian authors: In the course of the second century, the concepts of orthodoxy and heresy emerged gradually.²⁷ Since there was an ongoing development in doctrinal questions, personal authority was bound to an instable category.

One of the major cases of changing authority is that of Origen, who died in 254. Being educated in classical rhetoric and philosophy as well as in biblical matters, the talented Alexandrian brought Christian exegesis to a new level. His *Περὶ ἀρχῶν/De principiis* could be taken as the first systematic Christian dogmatic work. In his time as well as for the rest of the third century, Origen was not only highly estimated as the prevalent biblical scholar, but also as a representative of orthodoxy, having refuted pagan critics like Celsus as well as Gnostic heretics and others.²⁸ But at the beginning of the fourth century, things had begun to change, and followers of Origen's way saw the necessity to defend their master.²⁹ Pamphilus of Caesarea probably in company with Eusebius of Caesarea composed an apology for Origen, defending him against some sentences he was supposed to have said by his critics.³⁰ Eusebius later added five more books.

(for the pagan situation cf. Speyer 1971, pp. 133–34). However, an example for the indirect role of money in the dissemination of allegedly forged books is told by Rufinus in *De adult.* 12 (see below chapter 4.).

²⁶ It is one of Speyers' main merits to have proved (*passim*) that the relevant cases were taken seriously; see n. 19.

²⁷ For this development see e.g. the classic work of Bauer 1963 and now Heil 2012 (with further literature). Thomassen 2012 emphasizes the social dimension of the concept in a comparative interreligious perspective.

²⁸ Of course, Origen had his critics also in his lifetime, as his conflict with the Alexandrian bishop Demetrius shows; for Origen's life and conflicts see e.g. the introduction by Röwekamp 2005, pp. 27–36 (with further literature). For a possible role of Origen's fragmentary 'letter to friends in Alexandria' see below note 68.

²⁹ Methodius of Olympus' critique of Origen was an important step on this way. The struggle about Origen before the intervention of Epiphanius is summarized by Prinzivalli 1999, pp. 195–213.

³⁰ The details for the composition of the first book of the *Apology* were a subject of dispute already in the Origenist controversy of the late fourth century:

Things changed further after the Arian controversy: By the triumph of a 'Neo-Nicene' concept of the Christian doctrine of God as trinity of completely equal persons or *hypostases*, all concepts which subordinated the Son under the Father became suspected of being 'Arian' – whatever their origin was. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis on Cyprus, had composed a collection of Christian heresies and functioned as a sledge-hammer of orthodoxy in doing so. He forced the idea of Origen to be labelled as an 'Arius ante Arium' and propagated his opinion in Jerusalem in 392. A conflict broke out and became the beginning of the so-called 'first Origenist controversy'.³¹ This controversy, although it originated in the East, also had Western Latin protagonists from its very beginning: In 381 the monk Rufinus of Aquileia had come from Alexandria to Jerusalem after having studied with the important Origenist Didymus the Blind, and established a monastery financed by the noble woman Melania the Elder. He venerated Origen and shared this opinion with his friend Jerome, whom he knew from their ascetical time together in Aquileia and who came to Jerusalem, too, but settled down in Bethlehem 386.³² Epiphanius' appearance and the upcoming alternative of being a follower of Origen's doctrine *or* being orthodox forced Jerome to change his attitude and to stand on Epiphanius' side if necessary. This divided the former friends Rufinus and Jerome, although at Easter 397 a formal return to friendship was achieved. Rufinus, when going back westwards to Rome soon after during this year, had contact with supporters of Origen there, who

While Rufinus named the martyr Pamphilus as its author, Jerome insisted on the 'Arian' Eusebius' authorship, blaming Rufinus of forgery. For a balanced opinion see Röwekamp 2005, pp. 51–54.

³¹ For the controversy as a whole see Clark 1992, pp. 11–193, esp. 159–93. Her one-sided emphasis on the role of social networks determining the course of events *including* the theological debate has been rightly criticized (cf. Trigg 1994, p. 390), while her basic results, especially her rather high estimation of Rufinus' theological sensibility, should be considered in parallel to Cavallera 1922, pp. 229–86. Opelt 1972, pp. 64–118, provides a helpful approach to Jerome's polemical writings in the controversy (despite of some, especially theological, lacks of accurateness).

³² Literature on Jerome's life is vast. See the monographs by Grützmacher 1901–1908, Cavallera 1922 and Kelly 1975. The best combination of biography and focus on social connections is provided by Rebenich 1992; see also Clark 1992, pp. 121–51 and Röwekamp 2005, p. 73.

were very interested in his Eastern experiences. The disappearing of proficiency in the Greek language, even among the Roman upper class, made translations necessary for reception. And so Rufinus was urged by the nobleman Macarius to start his activities in Italy with the translation of Pamphilus' apology for Origen.³³ At that time Rome was a place where partisanship for/against and ignorance about Origen could be found simultaneously, if one considers the (re)actions of the pro-Origenist Macarius, the anti-Origenists Oceanus, Marcella and Eusebius of Cremona, and of the at first uninformed bishop Anastasius in those years.³⁴ Thus even if Anastasius probably represented the Western majority, Rufinus had to expect critique for his translation project from the very beginning. And the way he managed it, shows clearly that he was well aware of this aspect.³⁵ In his *Prologus in apologeticum Pamphili martyris pro Origene* he reminds Macarius of Origen's critics:

[...] *mihi tamen non dubito quod offensam maximam conparet eorum, qui se laesos putant ab eo qui de Origene non aliquid male senserit. Et quamuis non meam de eo sententiam, sed martyris Pamphili sciscitatus sis, et librum eius, quem pro Origene in Graeco scripsisse traditur, transferri tibi poposceris in Latinum, tamen non dubito futuros quosdam, qui et in eo laesos se putent, si nos aliquid pro eo uel alieno sermone dicamus.*³⁶

The *Apology* itself defends Origen against certain reproaches and seems to have been modified by Rufinus to better conform to the late fourth century situation.³⁷ As he had suggested in the *Prologus*, he attached a little treatise *De adulteratione librorum*

³³ For our little information about Macarius see Clark 1992, p. 11 n. 1, and Röwekamp 2005, pp. 74–75.

³⁴ See the details by Clark 1992, pp. 28–29, 31–32, 160, 71. Interesting to note is the aggressiveness which is documented for Marcella by Jerome, *Ep.* 127, 9–10, who highlights her desire to settle the issues by a public debate.

³⁵ Rufinus' awareness of the consequences is emphasized by Röwekamp 2005, p. 77.

³⁶ SC 464, 22, 3–24, 10. This new edition by Amacker & Junod may be preferred instead of the one provided by Simonetti in CCSL XX, 232–34, since it is based on a fresh (and more transparent) look at the manuscript evidence.

³⁷ This is stated (after a pro-contra discussion) by Röwekamp 2005, p. 77, 91–92. Junod 1999 provides a comparison of Origen's differing defenders Pamphilus and Rufinus.

Origenis, which establishes an idea which would determine his basic line of argument in the following years:³⁸ Origen's work has been adulterated by heretics, which explains seeming inconsistencies in the texts.

Soon after finishing this textual ensemble, Rufinus was asked by the same Macarius to translate Origen's *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* itself, which was the main source for the critics. Rufinus obliged, setting a programme of translation in his *Praefatio in librum I Peri archon*: He was not the first to translate Origen into Latin, since a *frater et collega noster ab episcopo Damaso deprecatus* had already undertaken such projects. As it is clear from the relevant *praefationes* to which Rufinus alludes, Jerome is meant here.³⁹ But while he just 'cleaned' the texts from all possible obstacles, Rufinus claimed to have found their origin in the falsification of Origen by heretics as he had shown in the *breuissimo libello superaddito* to the *Apologeticum*.⁴⁰ The 'detection' of heretical *corruptio* in Origen's work formed the basis for Rufinus' 'selective' translation practice: He identified false, i.e. falsified, places in the text and replaced the relevant words by genuine expressions of Origen which he found elsewhere. Thus he could state: *Nihil tamen nostrum diximus, sed licet in aliis locis dicta, sua tamen reddidimus*.⁴¹ As a consequence, Rufinus finished his *Praefatio in librum I* by a solemn appeal:

*Illud sane omnem, qui hos libros uel descripturus est uel lecturus, [...] contestor [...]: ne addat aliquid huic scripturae, ne auferat, ne inserat, ne immutet, sed conferat cum exemplaribus unde scripserit, et emendet ad litteram et distinguat, et inemendatum uel non distinctum codicem non habeat, ne sensuum difficultas, si distinctus codex non sit, maiores obscuritates legentibus generet.*⁴²

This appeal includes a very differentiated description not only of techniques of falsification but also of good and bad transmis-

³⁸ See SC 464, 26, 2–4.

³⁹ See CCSL XX, 245, 5–15.19–22 with the notes in the apparatus on this page.

⁴⁰ Cf. CCSL XX, 245, 30–246, 44.

⁴¹ CCSL XX, 246, 59–61 and for the entire concept 51–61.

⁴² CCSL XX, 247, 69–81.

sion practice by *exemplaria/codices*. The author indirectly puts the result of his above described way of translation in opposition to all these acts of criminality or neglect: Exactly and only his way of managing the manipulations of Origen's work is able to bring back the original meaning. Translation thus turns into recuperation.

Rufinus felt the trouble to come while still translating, as his *Praefatio in librum III* tells Macarius:

*Quodsi in illo opere ita inflammati sunt [...]: quid in hoc futurum putas [...]? Videbis illico perturbari omnia, seditiones moueri, clamores tota urbe diffundi, ad damnationem uocari eum, qui euangelicae lucernae lumine diabolicas ignorantiae tenebras fugare conatus est. Verum haec parui pendat qui cupit salua fidei catholicae regula in diuinis eruditionibus exerceri.*⁴³

After reminding him of his translation standards of *Praefatio I*, he adds that he did not change statements which may cause objection but do not belong to the *summa fidei*.⁴⁴ Thus he made a distinction between the subject of the adulteration of Origen's work (which is in places concerning the doctrine of the trinity) and passages which just contained Origen's attempts about open questions that would thus not have the qualities of heresy.

As a summary of these events, it can be stated that by the upcoming Christian concept of orthodoxy and heresy a new qualification of texts emerged: A text could have been authentic in respect of his textual integrity, but could contain sentences which would lead to his exclusion from the Christian community and thus to his loosing of any authority, as can be seen in the Origenist controversy. Furthermore, not only the writing, but also the reading and supporting of texts which contained potentially heretical sentences could endanger a scholar like Rufinus. Thus authority was depending on the fame of orthodoxy, while the accusation of an author as heretic urged him or his followers to develop an apologetic strategy. In this context the concept of falsification/adulteration could help to differentiate between an author and incriminating passages of his work. This strategy's success decided on the further status of the author *and* his followers, who were seen as adherents of his ideas.

⁴³ CCSL XX, 248, 11–21.

⁴⁴ CCSL XX, 248, 26–32.

Looking from the wider church historical context at the literary elements from Rufinus' *Prologus in apologeticum Pamphili martyris* to the *Praefatio in librum III* as parts of one integral concept defending Origen, the *brevissimus libellus superadditus* plays a significant role, since it must be here where Rufinus developed his argument for a selective translation, which caused the break out of the controversy in the West.⁴⁵ This treatise is the first Christian text exclusively devoted to the subject of falsification (and forgery) and this is why it has to be investigated in a more detailed manner.

4. *The Falsification Affair and its Literary Context*

De adulteratione librorum Origenis is indeed a rather short treatise.⁴⁶ Although the text can be read on its own, the key message is clearly in line with the previous *Apology*: Rufinus states at the beginning (chapter 1) that there are statements in Origen's works which are heretical and do not fit with the textual environment. This indicates, according to Rufinus, that they must have been inserted at a later date, since it is completely impossible that an author would change his mind fundamentally from one sentence to another.⁴⁷ Now, having the episode from Cicero in mind, one could have the idea that Rufinus claims to have found traces of manipulation in a manuscript or to have collated several ones

⁴⁵ That the translation of *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* heated the further debate is clear from the reactions; see Röwekamp 2005, pp. 65–66 and Lardet 1983, p. 23*.48*–50*. Rufinus had provoked Jerome's anger by referring to him as Origen's translator in his *Praefatio in librum I*. Oceanus' urge to make a literal translation of *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* involved Jerome further on. On the other hand, there seems to have been another case of falsification at work: Rufinus claims in *Apologia contra Hieronymum* I 19, 21 that Eusebius of Cremona, in order to destroy his reputation, disseminated an adulterated copy of his *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* translation in Italy, which he had received, he said, from 'Zezebel' (i.e. Marcella) and from which he even read 'revealing' passages publicly in Milan – in Rufinus' presence.

⁴⁶ Although *brevissimus* may be due to the author's (pretended) modesty. The text was edited by Simonetti in CCSL XX, 7–17 on its own. A new edition in the context of Rufinus' *praefatio* and translation of Pamphilus/Eusebius is now available by Amacker & Junod in SC 464 and 465 which is valuable especially because of its editorial preface and additional studies.

⁴⁷ SC 464, 282, 1–288, 2. For the following description see also the comparative table with text extracts from Rufinus and Jerome in the appendix of this article.

and found differences which prove a case of corruption. But he does nothing like this. Instead, the further structure of his treatise runs as follows:⁴⁸

Chapter 2: Since adulteration of orthodox texts is the work of heretics and since heretics have the devil as their father, the devil stands at the beginning of all adulteration.

Chapter 3: The first case of adulteration can be detected in Clement, who still had contact with the apostles and whose *Αναγνώσιμος* was adulterated by Eunomians.

Chapter 4–5: Further examples from Greek fathers follow. Even the great Athanasius of Alexandria was forced to defend his predecessor Dionysius from the accusation of heresy evolved from falsification. All this leads to Origen.

Chapter 6–7: If it was not surprising according to the hitherto mentioned cases themselves, that even the great teacher Origen was adulterated, things can be proved even more clearly: Since Origen himself complained that his works had been falsified in a letter to friends in Alexandria, a part of which Rufinus presents in a Latin translation:

[...] *Quidam eorum, qui libenter habent criminari proximos suos, adscribunt nobis et doctrinae nostrae crimen blasphemiae, quod a nobis numquam audierunt. [...] dicentes <adserere> me patrem malitiae ac perditionis [et] eorum, qui de regno dei eiciuntur, id est diabolum, [me dicere] esse saluandum,*⁴⁹ *quod ne aliquis quidem mente motus et manifeste insaniens dicere*

⁴⁸ An outline of the treatise is provided by Junod 1997, which is rather superficial in respect of the single cases named by Rufinus. A more detailed analysis can be found in Amacker & Junod 2002, pp. 25–40 (and the notes in the edition SC 464, pp. 282–323) and in Rōwekamp 2005, pp. 201–08 (and the notes on pp. 396–425).

⁴⁹ In this sentence the versions in the manuscripts differ such that the editions by Simonetti and Amacker & Junod present different texts. For the moment I follow Amacker & Junod who emend the text according to Jerome's quotation of Rufinus in *Apol. adv. lib. Ruf.* II 19 and who explain their decision briefly in SC 465, pp. 271–72. However, Simonetti (CCSL XX,11, 8–10) might still be right, since Jerome's version could be a kind of *lectio facilior* in comparison with the wide distance between *dicentes* and *me dicere* in the Rufinus manuscripts. Especially the deletion of *et* should be reassessed, since the expression *pater malitiae ac perditionis* might have been first a general characterization for the devil connected with the more focussed *eorum, qui* by an explicatory *et* which was omitted later.

potest. Sed nihil mirum mihi uidetur, si adulteretur doctrina mea ab inimicis et tali adulterio corrumpatur, quali adulterio corrupta est epistula Pauli apostoli. Quidam enim sub nomine Pauli falsam epistulam conscripserunt, ut conturbarent Thessalonicenses, quasi instaret dies domini [...]. Propter hanc ergo epistulam in secunda epistula quam ad Thessalonicenses scribit, haec dixit: '[...]' (2 Thes 2, 1–3). Talia ergo quaedam uideo etiam nobis accidere.

(episode 1:) *Nam quidam auctor haereseos, cum sub praesentia multorum habita inter nos fuisset disputatio et descripta, accipiens ab his qui descripserant codicem, quae uoluit addidit et quae uoluit abstulit et quae ei uisum est permutauit, circumferens tamquam ex nomine nostro, insultans et ostendens ea quae ipse conscripsit. [...] sub deo teste loquor quoniam, cum conuenissem illum ipsum, qui adulterauerat librum, quare hoc fecisset, uelut satisfaciens mihi respondit: 'Quoniam magis ornare uolui disputationem ipsam atque purgare'. [...].*

(episode 2:) *Denique in Epheso cum me uidisset quidam haereticus et congredi nolisset neque omnino os suum aperuisset apud me, sed nescio qua ex causa id facere deuitasset, postea ex nomine meo et suo conscripsit qualem uoluit disputationem et misit ad discipulos suos [...]. Insultabat autem et apud Antiochiam, priusquam ego illuc uenirem, ita ut et ad complurimos nostrorum perueniret ipsa disputatio quam portabat. Sed ubi adfui, multis eum praesentibus argui. Cumque iam sine ullo pudore pertenderet impudenter adserere falsitatem, poposci, ut liber deferretur in medium, <ut>⁵⁰ stilus meus agnosceretur a fratribus, qui utique cognoscunt quae soleo disputare uel quali soleo uti doctrina. Quique, cum ausus non esset proferre librum, conuictus ab omnibus et confutatus est falsitatis [...].⁵¹*

Chapter 8–9: Rufinus remembers another letter in which Origen complains about falsification which is, however, not available now. Anyway, Origen's above cited testimony proves heretical actions of falsification better than all before mentioned. This is all the more credible, since even the apostles' works have been falsified, as Tertullian attests it in *Adversus Marcionem*. And finally, all heretics' actions are similar, because there is one *spiritus diaboli* who acts in all of them.

⁵⁰ Cf. Amacker & Junod SC 465, p. 275.

⁵¹ SC 464, 298, 6–304, 71.

Chapter 10–12: To the Greek cases Latin ones can be added: Also Cyprian, the great martyr bishop of Carthage from the third century, and Hilary of Poitiers, a kind of ‘Western Athanasius’ in the Arian controversy, had become victims of falsification: Hilary was nearly excommunicated and Cyprian’s letters were sold for a low price in combination with *De trinitate*, a work of Tertullian, by Macedonians to deceive innocent readers.

Chapter 13: In addition to the cases of the past comes one from present (only a few years ago) – which will be analysed in the following part.

Chapter 14–16: Therefore, Rufinus resumes, as Origen himself complains about his works being falsified, there should be no doubt about this, if one considers all the other cases of falsification. Only one who seems to be completely obsessed with reading all of Origen just to accuse him can hold up his criticism. But such a person should not be heard, since in the end it is the work of the devil to accuse the brethren – and so the ring of the composition closes.

With his original work, Rufinus took a path completely different from Cicero. The reason is easy to find: The whole falsification theory is his own invention. A textual proof could simply not be brought forth and a discussion of single allegedly falsified passages would in fact probably show how far Origen was from the new orthodoxy. So what could Rufinus do? He collected examples which seemed to prove that falsification had been taking place since Christians existed and so it would be anything but strange to suppose the same for Origen’s works. Of course, no single example would prove his theory nor would more of them. However, the presentation of a chain of cases with evidence from Origen himself in the middle may seem somewhat compelling.

It is thus consistent that Rufinus cited a long passage from Origen while he summarized other cases of Greek and Latin victims of falsification rather briefly (despite all details). The episodes Origen reports, have a special persuasive factor in the context of Rufinus’ strategy:⁵² The Alexandrian became not only

⁵² In the perspective of my contribution the historical context of the events and their role in Origen’s biography is less important. An attempt to fix their date

the victim of falsification (episode 1) and forgery (episode 2) by heretics, but this happened just because he himself stood up as a fighter against heretics – which implies Origen's orthodoxy.⁵³

All these implications distract the reader from the core of the problem: It was mainly Origen's *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* which had raised the trouble – and Rufinus does not have a single piece of evidence that this very text had actually been falsified. However, the argument of analogy has been effective at all times and at least a modern reader interested in the history of forgery and falsification in Christian antiquity could read this *brevissimus libellus* as a worthy source. But Rufinus describes an additional case, and this leads to the falsification affair of my contribution's title.

In chapter 13, Rufinus comes to a recent case and refers to a friend of Damasus, who had the order to compose a creed for the discussion with a delegation of followers of Apollinaris of Laodicea, but who is not called by name. This is somewhat surprising, since up to this case, Rufinus always gave the names of the victims of falsification to make his argument more convincing. But we should look at the event itself – the falsification affair (Ruf., *De adult.* 13):

Adiciam adhuc unius facti talis exemplum, quod memoriae quidem recentioris est (commissae autem nequitiae antiquum satis) et quod omnes ueterum fabulas uincat.

Damasus episcopus, cum de recipiendis Apollinarianis deliberatio haberetur, editionem ecclesiasticae fidei, cui iudem editioni, si ecclesiae iungi uelint, subscribere deberent, conscribendam mandauit amico suo cuidam presbytero, uiro disertissimo, qui hoc illi ex more negotium procurabat. Necessarium uisum est

was made by Crouzel 1973, pp. 144–50. See also the introduction by Amacker & Junod 2002, pp. 32–40.

⁵³ The episodes show inter alia two interesting aspects: First, there was a fluid transition between the falsification of an existing text (the debate's protocol) and complete forgery, since both were means to reach the same result: an account showing the opponent Origen being defeated by (one's own) superior doctrine. Second, it was a question of perspective whether falsification was considered as such at all. The first 'heretic's' statement cited by Origen could just have been meant as it had been said: On the literary level there was a kind of second chance to present one's own arguments and to refute the opponent's ones in the best imaginable way. Not a strict parallel but interesting for further considerations is the case of Augustine writing his *Contra Maximinum* after having a debate with Maximinus (*Collatio cum Maximino*) without success; see Sieben 2008, pp. 25–30.

dictanti in ipsa editione de incarnatione domini hominem dominicum dici.

Offensi sunt in hoc sermone Apollinaristae: nouitatem sermonis incusare coeperunt. Adesse sibi coepit qui dictauerat et ex auctoritate ueterum scriptorum catholicorum uirorum confutare eos, qui impugnabant. Decidit, ut uni ex ipsis, qui nouitatem sermonis causabantur, ostenderet in libello Athanasii episcopi scriptum esse sermonem, de quo quaestio habebatur. Quasi suasus iam ille cui hoc probatum fuerat, rogauit dari sibi codicem, quo et aliis ignorantibus et contradicentibus satisfaceret. Accepto codice, inauditum excogitauit adulterationis genus. Locum ipsum, in quo sermo iste erat scriptus, rasit et ipsum sermonem rursus rescripsit, quem raserat. Codex redditus simpliciter receptus est. Mouetur iterum pro eodem sermone quaestio; ad probationem codex profertur; inuenitur sermo, de quo erat quaestio, ex litura in codice positus; fides proferenti talem codicem derogatur, eo quod litura illa corruptionis ac falsitatis uideretur indicium. Sed quoniam – ut iterum eadem dicam – uiuenti haec facta sunt ac uigenti, continuo egit omnia ut fraus commissi sceleris nudaretur, et nequitiae macula non innocenti uiro, qui nihil tale gesserat, adhaereret, sed in auctorem facti atque in uberiores eius infamiam redundaret.⁵⁴

A short comparison with the Carpinatius affair and the factors established in the first chapter of this contribution may be illuminating:

1. The Apollinarist used the characteristics of (papyrus or) parchment for his trick cleverly: While Carpinatius' falsification failed because it was easily detectable on the wax tables, the heretic based his fraud exactly on the visibility of manipulations which harmed the surface of the writing material.
2. The falsification did not befall the wording of the text but its material background which counted as the basis for an uncorrupted transmission.
3. The aim of this action was to establish a reason to doubt the form of the text as it now seemed to be transmitted *before* Jerome had presented it as evidence. The expression *dominus homo* in the *libellus Athanasii* had to be considered as the result of corruption and thus as worthless in the actual debate.

⁵⁴ SC 464, 314, 1–316, 32.

4. Rufinus told the story in the above mentioned *De adulteratione*, emphasizing the novelty of the Apolinarist's trick and thus focusing on the spectacular character of the event.
5. In the chain of evidence he constructed, Rufinus told the falsification affair to finish his row of examples with a highlight which was not only contemporary but showed that the heretics still improved their techniques of falsification such that even a skillful friend of the former pope could be trapped by them – so why doubt the adulteration of long dead Origen?

If one compares the relation between the reported event and the victim with the cases – especially of Origen – which Rufinus had reported before, however, the embarrassing character of the episode becomes clear: All other victims were either dead or absent,⁵⁵ when an evil-thinking heretic got his hands on the relevant text. The anonymous individual instead was tricked nearly directly in front of his nose. The closing sentence repeats the idea of the living (like Hilary) being able to defend themselves in contrast to the dead (like Origen) and gives a possible 'happy ending' to the story. But although Rufinus adds the reaction of the tricked one *continuo*, there seemed to be a period of time in between in which the adulterator had his triumph.⁵⁶

Fortunately, there is no need to guess the unlucky person's name, since he identified himself some years later: It was Rufinus' old friend and new enemy Jerome.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ In Origen's episode 1 (see above) the adulterer altered the disputation protocol after the event.

⁵⁶ This is all the more probable when one tries to imagine the victim's attempt to 'reveal the fraud of the committed crime' by the analogy of Origen's case as reported in *De adult.* 7 (passage omitted above): If he really wanted to prove the falsification, he had to present another specimen of the text (and to make plausible that this one provides the authentic form of the text) as Origen did after the falsification of his debate's protocol. Depending on how widespread the text was, this act of defence may have taken more than some minutes. On the other hand, if Rufinus' words show that the victim finally succeeded, this would probably imply that the text was available in Rome more than once.

⁵⁷ It seems to be in fact a kind of politeness or discretion which caused the anonymity in Rufinus' presentation. Perhaps it could be compared to the anonymous reference to Jerome's former translations of Origen in the *Praefatio in librum I Peri archon* (see n. 38).

His *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* was written some steps of polemic later, which I skip here.⁵⁸ It considers a lot of mistakes Rufinus made and is thus an attack on different levels. In respect of *De adulteratione* and the falsification affair, some paragraphs of the second book are of high interest. Jerome shows himself in possession of Rufinus' *De adulteratione* by paraphrasing and verbally quoting significant passages. In doing so, he provides us with a valuable instrument for evaluating Rufinus' history of Christian forgeries and falsifications. When we follow his investigation of his rival's presentation, the story takes some different turns:

- First, there is some general polemic including the remark that it was the 'Arian' Eusebius, not the martyr Pamphilus, who had written the Apology for Origen.⁵⁹
- This Eusebius himself states that Origen's teaching was Arian. So Rufinus' falsification theory ignores the source he translated.⁶⁰
- Rufinus' evidence of alleged heretical falsifications of Clement (of Rome and of Alexandria) and Dionysius is all too focused on a wrong aim: In his one-sided much too complicated attempt to defend Origen, he overlooks various and much simpler explanations for textual inconsistencies, e.g. mistakes of copyists or unwariness before Arius' time, and generally abolishes the concept of a text as one author's coherent work.⁶¹

⁵⁸ For the course of events see e.g. Lardet 1983, p. 64*–72*, and for the whole controversy Cavallera 1922, pp. 229–86. One element should be noted, since it shows an additional aspect of the opponents' arsenal described in n. 44: Rufinus later complained that he had prepared but not published his *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* translation as a finished and thus authorized text; Jerome's circle of supporters was in possession of an 'illegal' copy provided by Eusebius of Cremona (who caused the Milan scandal then) and informed the hermit in Bethlehem – a case of book theft in Rufinus' perspective (cf. Cavallera 1922 I, p. 234 [with n. 1.2]–235). Thus the 'stealing' of unpublished books (and the reproach of doing so) was classified alongside the act of falsification since it also harmed the author's freedom to establish a work's final form (by anticipating reactions which should have happened only later on).

⁵⁹ Cf. CCSL LXXIX, 48, 1–50, 7.

⁶⁰ Cf. CCSL LXXIX, 50, 8–13 and 50, 8–30 in general.

⁶¹ The passage is of special interest, since it shows a kind of historical awareness on Jerome's side: *Si conceditur, ut quicquid in libris omnium reperitur ab aliis corruptum sit, nihil eorum erit, quorum fertur nominibus [...] Et quomodo, inquires, in libris eorum uitiosa nonnulla sunt? Si me causas uitiorum nescire respondero, non*

- Origen’s letter (which is unfortunately lost in Greek) had a different intention than Rufinus makes his readers believe by shortening the text and translating it more than freely. This is obvious if one considers Origen’s text before Rufinus’ quotation and a literal translation of the quotation’s beginning in comparison with Rufinus’ one:⁶²

Rufinus, <i>De adult.</i> 7 (= SC 464, 298, 6–13)	Jerome, <i>Apol. adv. lib. Ruf.</i> II 18 (= CCSL LXXIX, 54, 59–70)
<i>Quidam eorum, qui libenter habent criminari proximos suos, adscribunt nobis et doctrinae nostrae crimen blasphemiae, quod a nobis numquam audierunt. De quo ipsi uiderint, nolentes observare mandatum illud quod dicit quia ‘maledici regnum dei non possidebunt’, dicentes <adserere> me patrem malitiae et perditionis eorum qui de regno dei eiciuntur, id est diabolus, esse saluandum, quod ne aliquis quidem mente motus et manifeste insaniens dicere potest.</i>	<i>Ergo cum propter timorem dei caueamus in quempiam maledicta conferre, recordantes illius dicti: ‘non fuit ausus iudicium inferre blasphemiae, quod dicitur de Michael contra diabolus’, et in alio loco: ‘dominationes quidem reprobant, glorias autem blasphemant’, quidam eorum, qui libenter causationes repperiunt adscribunt nobis et doctrinae nostrae blasphemiam. Super qua ipsi uiderint quomodo illud audiant: ‘neque ebriosi neque maledici regnum dei possidebunt’, licet patrem malitiae et perditionis eorum qui de regno dei eiciuntur dicant posse saluari, quod ne mente quidem quis captus dicere potest.’⁶³</i>

statim illos haereticos iudicabo. Fieri potest, ut uel simpliciter errauerint uel alio sensu scripserint uel a librariis imperitis eorum paulatim scripta corrupta sint uel certe, antequam in Alexandria quasi daemonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, innocenter quaedam et minus caute locuti sunt [...] Obiciuntur Origeni crimina et tu non illum defendis, sed alios accusas [...] (CCSL LXXIX, 51, 29–52, 53).

⁶² CCSL LXXIX, 52, 9–54, 71: [...] Statimque exemplum subiungit epistolae, et qui falsitatem scriptorum Origenis haereticis imputat, ipse incipit a falsitate, non ita interpretans ut habetur in Graeco, nec id Latinis insinuans quod ipse in suis literis profitetur. [...] Contra sacerdotes ergo ecclesiae generaliter disputans, a quibus indignus communione eius fuerat iudicatus, haec intulit: “[...] Ad benedicendum enim et non ad maledicendum creati sumus. [...] Unde cuncta nitimur agere consilio, in uini quoque potu et in moderatione sermonis, ut nulli audeamus maledicere. [what follows is Jerome’s text in the table] et cetera quae ex eadem epistula transtulit.

⁶³ Jerome closes his translation critique as follows: *Pro hoc quod in fine uer-*

- There is no proof for the story about Hilary.⁶⁴
- *De trinitate* is in fact a work of Novatian and just stood under its author's name.⁶⁵
- The reaction on Rufinus' chapter 13 will be analysed on its own.
- The attacks against Epiphanius, who was intended by Rufinus' indications, are baseless and try to turn away the real reasons for an accusation against Origen and Rufinus.⁶⁶

When we look back to Rufinus' impressive chain of falsifications, there is not much left.⁶⁷ The author of *De adulteratione* looks even suspect by telling false stories.⁶⁸ This is, if we follow Jerome, especially the case in the centre of Rufinus' construct, the evidence from Origen's own writings: Here, according to Jerome, his adversary is not only inaccurate, but turns out to commit falsification himself by a deliberately wrong translation. His evidence against

borum Origenis interpretati sumus: 'ergo cum propter timorem dei caueamus in quempiam maledicta conferre' et reliqua, iste, fraudulenter amputatis superioribus ex quibus inferiora dependent, sic transferre coepit epistulam quasi hoc sensus esset exordium, et ait: [it follows the quotation of Rufinus' translation in the table above]. Conferte Origenis uerba quae supra ad uerbum transtuli his quae ab isto non uersa sunt, sed euersa, et quantam inter se, non solum uerborum, sed et sensuum habeant dissonantiam perspicietis. Obsecro, ne molesta sit uobis prolixior interpretation (CCSL LXXIX, 54, 71–55, 5).

⁶⁴ CCSL LXXIX, 55, 31–56, 51.

⁶⁵ CCSL LXXIX, 56, 51–58.

⁶⁶ CCSL LXXIX, 57, 4–59, 4.

⁶⁷ One could think of Jerome's nuanced picture of possible explanations for the errors in Origen's texts as a bridge to a compromise. But for Rufinus, this would probably not work: Giving up the adulteration model would in the end mean to give up Origen's authority and to expose his works to critics like Epiphanius. Additionally, Jerome accused Rufinus of being a liar in more than one case, which would make the 'compromise' even harder.

⁶⁸ Of course, there is no reason to trust Jerome's critique blindly. Delehaye 1922, pp. 326–29, has shown in an analysis of traditions about the bishops Cyprian of Carthage and Cyprian of Antioch that Gregory of Nazianzus in speaking about 'Cyprian's work on the trinity' can be understood best by assuming that there really were *codices* which contained Novatian's *De trinitate* such that a superficial reader would take Cyprian as its author. Thus Rufinus confused Novatian with Tertullian (which is not so much surprising if one remembers that Jerome himself some years ago had characterized the work as 'epitome of Tertullian'; cf. Hier., *De uiris ill.* 70) and pressed the case, but did not wholly invent it. The same may be true for the affair of Hilary, see Brennecke 1984, p. 255 n. 39.

Rufinus is his own partial translation of the letter which begins a bit earlier and thus makes clear that Origen is writing in a situation of conflict in which one or more clerics/bishops seem to be involved.⁶⁹ It is this conflict on which the beginning of Rufinus' translation depends, while at the end of the passage translated by both opponents, only in Rufinus' version the adversaries claim that Origen thought falsely about the salvation of the devil. In Jerome's allegedly more accurate version the salvation of the devil is just an insane idea of the opponents.⁷⁰ Since the Western part of the Origenist controversy was largely caused by the translator Rufinus, a convincing critique of his translation practice could destroy all his credibility. But is the story in Rufinus' chapter 13, according to Jerome, just a lie, too?

Jerome first writes:

[...] *et superfluum puto apertas ineptias confutare, cum mihi mea ingeratur fabella – asino uidelicet lyra! – et sub nomine cuiusdam amici Damasi, Romanae urbis episcopi, ego petar, cui ille ecclesiasticas epistulas dictandas credidit, et Apollinari-anorum uersutiae describantur, quod Athanasii librum, ubi 'dominicus homo' scriptus est, acceptum ad legendum, ita cor-ruperint, ut in litura id, quod raserint rursus inscriberent, ut scilicet non ab illis falsatum, sed a me additum putaretur [...],*

and by this he reveals himself as the 'certain friend of Damasus'. Then he continues:

⁶⁹ Jerome, *Adv. Ruf.* II 18 (CCSL LXXIX, 52, 13–15), claims that the Alexandrian bishop Demetrius and 'bishops and clerics from the whole world' were the opponents to whom Origen pointed. This seems to be a mere inference to blame Rufinus as Crouzel 1973, pp. 144–45, has shown. Thus misleading 'information' about Origen came from both sides of the controversy.

⁷⁰ Crouzel 1973, pp. 144–50, in his commentary on the letter's fragments offers an attempt to reconstruct the train of thought of the original including Jerome's hints to the Dialogue between Origen and Candidus in which the question of the devil's salvation obviously played an important role. However, due to his focus on reconstructing the original letter as well as possible, Crouzel fails in distinguishing the connotations established by Rufinus and Jerome respectively. Of course, their common translated passage differs only a little, but the whole course of mutual accusations shows how petty the opponents could be. Thus in Jerome's view it will have been enough for a point to show that Rufinus made a bit more out of the letter than it offered in respect of Origen being wrongly accused explicitly. For a more differentiated investigation of the translations see the introduction of Amacker & Junod 2002, pp. 32–35 (although partially depending on Crouzel).

[...] *quaeso te, amice carissime, ut in ecclesiasticis tractatibus, ubi de ueritate dogmatum quaeritur et de salute animarum nostrarum maiorum flagitatur auctoritas, huiusmodi deliramenta dimittas et prandiorum cenarumque fabulas pro argumento non teneas ueritatis. Fieri enim potest, ut, etiam si a me uerum audisti, alius, qui huius rei ignarus est, dicat a te esse compositum et, quasi mimum Philistionis uel Lentuli ac Marulli, stropham eleganti sermone confictam. Quo non perueniat semel effrenata temeritas! Post excommunicationem Hilarii, post Cypriani *ψευδεπίγραφον* haereseos librum, post Athanasii me dormitante lituram simul et inscriptionem, erumpit aliquando contra papam Epiphanium.*⁷¹

According to John Norman Davidson Kelly in his monograph on Jerome, Damasus' former secretary dismisses the story 'as mere dinner-table gossip' and so it is for him worth some lines and a footnote.⁷² But Jerome's reaction is no denial: 'Etiam si verum a me audisti' (not *audisses*) makes it clear that Rufinus *had* heard a true story – but it is of the kind of fables which one should not introduce to serious questions as are concerned in the doctrine of Origen and his supporters. So telling the story of the falsification affair, Rufinus is indiscreet – this is Jerome's message –, but not a liar.

In order to investigate the falsification affair in Rufinus' chapter 13 adequately, a broader access to *De adulteratione librorum Origenis* was necessary. Since this text has a clear aim in defending Origen as the victim of heretical falsification, all given 'information' had to serve this tendency and cannot be taken for true without discussion. Moreover, only a short time after its composition the text's credibility had been radically challenged by Jerome's reassessment of the presented material. Thus the value of chapter 13 as a source could seem low. But the comparison with Jerome's critique leads to a different result: While Rufinus obviously dealt with alleged evidence from the past rather freely, he was quite exact in describing his contemporary example. Despite the former's apologetic and the latter's polemic tendencies, Rufinus and Jerome attest a case of falsification at Rome.

⁷¹ *Apol. adv. Ruf.* II 20 (CCSL LXXIX, 56, 1–57, 5).

⁷² Kelly 1975, pp. 81–82.

So there was a falsification affair in 382, Jerome was its ‘victim’ and it was told with a secondary aim in the first Origenist controversy.⁷³ But what about the *libellus Athanasii* containing the offending expression *dominicus homo*? There is a story behind the story – and as will be seen soon, there is more ‘false’ than Rufinus and Jerome thought.

5. *The Story behind the Story*

Athanasius of Alexandria had died in the year in which Rufinus arrived in the metropolis of the Nile delta. Already before that, he had reached the status of a champion of orthodoxy – by a lucky coincidence of clever self-propaganda and a certain doctrinal development.⁷⁴ In one way or another, several texts from the fourth century onwards were handed down under the name of the great Nicene hero and fighter against the Arian heresy which were not his own. As a consequence, beneath Athanasius’ own works, there are more than 200 pseudoepigraphic others.⁷⁵ Thus to identify the very text of the falsification affair may be difficult.⁷⁶ But a close look at the hints in the sources will help to clarify some probabilities.

At first, it can be stated that Rufinus speaks of a *libellus*, which was contained in a *codex*, while Jerome is calling it a *liber*. The second hint is the expression *dominicus homo*. And implicitly, there is a third one: the *context* of Jerome trying to form a creed and to master the discussion with delegates of the group

⁷³ For the date see Rebenich 1992, pp. 141–44; Reutter 2009, pp. 429–39, proposes a possible context within the debate about Apollinaris’ follower Timotheus.

⁷⁴ For this phenomenon cf. Müller 2016.

⁷⁵ There has been no systematic attempt to collect and investigate all extant Pseudo-Athanasiana since the (incomplete) edition by G. Montfaucon reprinted in Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca* 28. The little progress in research is documented by the poor information presented in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (volume II plus supplements) as well as by the very selective presentation of single influential pseudo-Athanasian writings in the up to date *Athanasius Handbuch*.

⁷⁶ Of course, the possibility has to be considered that the text used by Jerome is lost now. But there is no reason why this should be more probable than the text’s preservation – especially since four ‘Athanasian’ texts with *dominicus homo* are extant, while the term was not widespread at all. Thus the following considerations will not be able to bring undisputable certainties, but to find out the most probable of the extant possible texts.

around Apollinaris of Laodicea, a strict Nicene and supporter of Athanasius, who fell into heresy by denying that the son in the incarnation assumed a human soul with the body.⁷⁷ In such a context, some sorts of texts might be easier at hand than others.

The second hint, the expression *dominicus homo*, can be regarded as the limiting factor: Only four texts under the name of Athanasius contain the term in Latin or in its original Greek form κυριακός ἄνθρωπος:

- First, we find κυριακός ἄνθρωπος once in a large work attributed to Athanasius by tradition, the *Expositiones in Psalmos*.⁷⁸ But this text is dated to a time after Cyril of Alexandria by some scholars.⁷⁹ Furthermore there is – as far as I know – no evidence that it was known in the Latin West in pre-modern times, since we find no Latin translation.⁸⁰ Thus it is from a point of reception quite improbable that the *Expositiones in psalmos* were known in Rome in 382 as Athanasian text and not sure whether it existed at all. So I exclude it here already.
- Then there are two texts which are related to each other by some manuscripts as λόγος μείζων περὶ πίστεως and λόγος

⁷⁷ For Apollinaris' doctrine see Mühlenberg 1969.

⁷⁸ Ps.-Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 27, 55–590 offers an unaccessible edition mixing up relevant with foreign material while leaving out different fragments; see Vian 1978, whose edition of the text never appeared). Böhm 2011, pp. 274–76, in his recent Athanasius Handbuch article comes to the conclusion that Athanasius cannot be the author by reasons of language and style, but that the text might still belong to the late fourth century.

⁷⁹ See the analysis by Dorival 1980 (with further literature) cautiously accepted by Stead 1985, p. 66.77. Against Dorival's confidence Rondeau 1982, pp. 86–87, has doubted the certainty of the text's dependence on Cyril, since the parallels are not literal and accumulated only in the commentaries on Ps. 39–41. She doubts Athanasian authorship but seems to prefer a date prior to Cyril for the commentary (possibly except Ps. 39–41) which according to her is influenced primarily by Eusebius of Caesarea. Certainty about this issue will depend on a new critical edition. However, in reference to the *dominicus homo* problem it can be stated that κυριακός ἄνθρωπος can be found only once in the commentary on Ps. 40 and thus exactly in a passage which also for Rondeau may be influenced by Cyril therefore belonging to the second half of the fifth century. And even if Böhm (last note) is right, his 'late fourth century' for the composition may imply vaguely a date within the last two decades of this century, probably after 382. When the text went under the name of Athanasius is still another question. See also note 85.

⁸⁰ And, most significant, there is no reference to this text in any fourth century commentary on the Psalms and the important Latin exegetes of this period, especially Jerome, do not mention it.

μικρὸς περὶ πίστεως, so to say as *Sermo maior* and *Sermo minor de fide*. The *Sermo maior*'s older and perhaps original title is *Epistula ad Antiochenos*, which reminds us of Athanasius' famous *Tomus ad Antiochenos*.⁸¹ The *Sermo minor* is also called *Expositio fidei*, since it has the form of a credal statement.⁸²

- Lastly, there is an original Latin text called *Professio Arriana et Confessio catholica*, which was collected with other Latin texts under the name of Athanasius in early modern times and is thus often just called *De trinitate liber XI*.⁸³

Now concerning the other hints may shorten this list. Here one is at first confronted with the meaning of *libellus* and *liber* and the change of the term from Rufinus' report to Jerome's reaction. Did the latter correct the former's details at this point? When we look at Rufinus' use of the word *libellus* in *De adulteratione librorum Origenis*, we see that he also calls Novatianus' *De trinitate* a *libellus* in *De adult.* 12, being contained in the *codex* which collected Cyprian's letters. In addition, a passage of his *Historia ecclesiastica* (written about 402–04) is particularly striking: Here Rufinus calls Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* a *libellus*.⁸⁴ This is important, since the *Vita Antonii* as well as Novatianus' work is not so short that we would call it a short 'booklet', which would be a

⁸¹ The Greek text is preserved only in fragments (collected by Schwartz 1925 whose numbering for the fragments I use here according to my simple purpose; the new numbering by Seibt 1994, pp. 72–73 should be consulted for further discussions about the reconstruction of the text) and in an (abbreviated) Armenian translation (edited by Casey 1947, who proposed corrections for Schwartz's collection). Quite a bit research has been done since the text was supposed to be a work of Marcellus of Ancyra; cf. Scheidweiler 1954, Tetz 1968 and for an introduction to the issue Seibt 1994, pp. 70–84. For the problems of this hypothesis see below.

⁸² The fate of this text in the history of research is tied to the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* due to the conditions of manuscript transmission. Former attempts to locate it in the circle around Marcellus have been developed further by Seibt 1993, with problematic arguments. For another interpretation see below and for the text now AW III 4 Dok. 48.

⁸³ The best available edition of Ps-Athanasius, *Professio Arriana et confessio catholica/De trinitate XI* is Simonetti, *Pseudoathanasii libri de trinitate ll. X–XII*, Bologna 1956, while the edition by Bulhart in CCSL IX, 149–61 heavily relies on older editions instead of the extant manuscripts (which leads to the elimination of *dominicus homo* from the text! See CCSL IX, 156, 322).

⁸⁴ Ruf. h. e. X 8 (GCS Eusebius II, 2, 12–18 Mommsen).

normal basic translation for *libellus* – but Rufinus does. Coming to Jerome, one can learn from the study of Evaristo Arns, that his use of *liber* is quite ‘flexible’ and that a text called so by Jerome does not need much length. According to Arns, the all-around function of *liber* in Jerome is to denominate a text as an independent unity.⁸⁵ And *libellus* seems to have a similar meaning in Rufinus: an independent, not too thick book/text. Thus, we can conclude that there is no contradiction between Rufinus and Jerome – and the text we are looking for does not have to be the shortest of our candidates, which is the *Expositio fidei*. The *Epistula ad Antiochenos* might have been a *libellus* for Rufinus, too, and *De trinitate* XI as well.⁸⁶

Thus, unfortunately, *libellus* and *liber* are of no help. And in terms of ‘fitting’ to the context of the scene, all three remaining texts have something to offer. They all try to define an orthodox concept of the Trinity with special attention to the Son being equal to the Father (and not subordinate like the ‘Arians’ would think). In doing so, they have to differentiate between Christ as man, who suffered and is, of course, not equal with the Father, and Christ as God, who stayed free of human affections and in full equality to the Father.

In this wider context the expression κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος/*dominicus homo* plays its role describing the man the Son assumed.⁸⁷ It can be seen as consensus, that it was first used in the *Epistula*

⁸⁵ See Arns 1953, p. 105.

⁸⁶ But even with some uncertainties about the exact borderline, it seems not very probable that the *Expositiones in Psalmos*, a work which takes a great part of tome 27 in Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca*, would have been called a *libellus* by Rufinus. Probably having this in mind, Anton Stuelcken proposed the possibility that Jerome only had the commentary on psalm 40 (41) as a *libellus*. But, as far as I know, there is no evidence that the commentaries on single psalms of the *Expositiones* were ever called *libelli/libri* or the like in Greek. Jerome according to Arns 1953 should have called the whole work a *liber*. Finally, even if we would be more optimistic here, my third hint from the text should be respected: When Jerome was preparing his creed, would he really have remembered a single expression (κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος appears just one time in the whole long work) in a text of hundreds of modern pages, a text which, as an exegetical work, is not concentrated on deciding dogmatic problems? Probably not. Thus even if one assumes an early date for the *Expositiones in psalmos*, the text should be excluded by considering the other aspects of the affair.

⁸⁷ The standard reference about this term is Grillmeyer 1977; for corrections of his reconstruction see n. 94.

ad Antiochenos and then in the *Expositio fidei*, while texts like *De trinitate XI* re-use it later. Here the consensus ends.⁸⁸

Today, looking for the *Epistula ad Antiochenos*, one is led by the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* directly to Marcellus of Ancyra.⁸⁹ The *Expositio fidei* is, due to many similarities but also some differences from the *Epistula ad Antiochenos*, supposedly the work of a Marcellus-follower in this logic.⁹⁰ This is the result of a certain development in the history of research which I cannot describe here, as well as a discussion of the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* and the *Expositio fidei*. As a preliminary result of some joint research with Annette von Stockhausen and Uta Heil, now it can be said that there may be at least better reasons to see Athanasius as the author of the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* than Marcellus of Ancyra:

Anton Stülcken, who had first denied Athanasian authorship, doubted, probably wrongly, the fact that already Athanasius' successor Peter knew the letter as a work of the bishop.⁹¹ As such

⁸⁸ Cf. the overview by Grillmeyer (last note).

⁸⁹ CPG 2803.

⁹⁰ CPG 2804 represents the older assumption of one author for both texts; for a more recent discussion see Seibt 1993.

⁹¹ See Stülcken 1899, pp. 29–30. Of course, he mentioned the below cited passage but estimated it as a late witness due to the date of Facundus' work, since he thought it was only Facundus who considered the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* to be the *epistula* mentioned in Peter's letter. His idea was that Peter referred to Athanasius' *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, since in *Tom. 7* the concept of a *σῶμα ἄψυχον* was condemned and (complementary to his interpretation of *quam legere incipientes orthodoxi et ita sapere et subscripsisse confirmant* as evidence for orthodox and Apollinarist subscriptions) at the end, *Tom. 9, 3, 11, 2* (AW II 8, 349, 13–14; 350, 17–351, 9), there were the subscriptions of Apollinarists and of orthodox people who underline their *σῶμα ἄψυχον*-condemnation. While Stülcken is right that Peter's reference *could* also mean the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* according to the title, he seems to be wrong with his further arguments: First, it is only speculation that the relevant *epistula* contained a condemnation of *σῶμα ἄψυχον* – and according to our current state of research, *Tom. 7* was not directed against the ideas (later) connected with Apollinaris (see AW II 8, 347); thus, the *Tomus* would have been used against Apollinarists secondarily, which might be plausible for the *Epistula ad Antiochenos*, too, since, as not only the falsification affair shows, *κυριακός ἄνθρωπος* was refused by Apollinarists (Stülcken 1899, p. 24 n. 5 understood Greg Naz., *Ep. 101* wrong, even the opposite way around, as Gesché 1962, p. 81, later showed) and the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* clearly states the assumption of a whole man by the Son, as Stülcken 1899, p. 39, himself highlighted. In this perspective both texts could have been used against Apollinarists. Second, however, Stülcken's interpretation of 'quam legere incipientes orthodoxi

it was highly recommended – as it seems in the following passage preserved by Facundus of Hermiane (whose framing comments I set *in petit*) – as means against the Apollinarists:

Vnde successor eiusdem Athanasii Petrus, scribens ad episcopos, presbyteros atque diaconos, qui sub Valente imperatore Diocaesaream fuerant exsules missi:

‘Sine deo quippe est’, inquit, ‘et in omnibus reprobis, qui non confitetur integrum hominem saluasse aduentu suo saluatorem. Et si totum saluat, totum assumpsit, non in adiutorium saluationis, sed ad totius saluationem. Nullus ergo pie se sapere existimans infidelis magis existat. Si uero quaerere studet, discat ex epistula quam ad Antiochenos beatae memoriae episcopus Athanasius scribit, ubi omnia diligenter exponit, quam legere incipientes orthodoxi et ita sapere et subscripsisse confirmant’.

In eadem igitur ad Antiochenos epistula, in qua beatae memoriae episcopum Athanasium successor eius Petrus omnia diligenter exposuisse perhibuit, hoc quoque continetur: ‘Iesus Christus heri...’ (= fr. 28 Schwartz).⁹²

Within the framework established by this evidence the burden of proof clearly has to be borne by those who deny Athanasian authorship.⁹³ The attempts of Scheidweiler, Tetz, Grillmeier and

et ita sapere et subscripsisse confirmant’ could be questioned, since it seems more plausible that *incipientes* determines *orthodoxi*, thus pointing to former heretics. If Peter was thinking of Apollinarists, as Facundus says and Stülcken accepts, the *epistula* was used for Apollinarists who wanted to prove their orthodoxy after a change of mind. In this case the confirmation of *Tom. 7* by the orthodox Paulinus (and only him!) in the end is irrelevant, while it seems doubtful that a letter which Apollinarists had subscribed without questioning in a prior situation was used to test their orthodoxy later. In sum, Stülcken’s arguments for the assumption of a mistake by Facundus out of ignorance of the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* do not seem to be strong enough to rule out Facundus’ own version (we should also consider the fact that he knew the complete letter of Peter, which we do not) – and the latter doubts against his interpretations might question them even *per se*. Thus the reference to Peter as the original source makes a difference to Facundus of more than a century (the independent doubts by Hoss 1899, pp. 105–23 cannot change this result, but have to be discussed in a further study on this topic).

⁹² Facundus of Hermiane, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* XI, 2 (CCSL XC A, 334, 22–36).

⁹³ This is also the case for the most prominent of the relatively few opponents to the Marcellus theory, Manlio Simonetti (see Simonetti 1973 and 1974 *passim*), since he by attributing the text to Didymus the Blind is faced with the above mentioned problem as well.

Seibt to ascribe the text to Marcellus seem to fail under these circumstances.⁹⁴

The *Epistula ad Antiochenos* being (as things are now) probably, or at least possibly, Athanasius' own work, the *Expositio*

⁹⁴ For the moment I have to limit myself to the indication of some problems occurring in the attempts of these scholars, which may be excusable since it is their task to provide convincing arguments: First of all, they all take Stülcken's denial of Athanasian authorship for granted, although Stülcken then worked on the basis of unreliable texts and estimated the evidence by Facundus = Peter not sufficiently. The article by Tetz 1968 develops no convincing original argument for Marcellus' authorship (which is underlined by Seibt 1994, pp. 77–80!) but mainly relies on Scheidweiler 1954. Scheidweiler collected some rather vague allusions and then closed the discussion pointing out to fr. 40 Schwartz where it is said that there are about 400 years from Christ to now, which for him is a typically Marcellan expression. Simonetti 1973, pp. 317–20, later criticized Scheidweiler among other aspects for misunderstanding this passage which describes what *the author's adversaries* say, thus a probably opposite attitude. Seibt 1994, pp. 70–84, despite his own critique broadly assuming the basic persuasiveness of his predecessors' arguments mainly tried to refute Simonetti's arguments, especially his understanding of fr. 40 Schwartz (his own 'new argument' pp. 319–20 in respect of this passage simply presupposes Marcellus' authorship by the mentioned coincidence, see below). However, until now I have not understood how he comes to a different result: He just stresses the similarity of Marcell., fr. 103 with *Ep. Ant.*, fr. 40 Schwartz in respect of the shortness of time indicated by the expression 'less than 400 years'. But it is not more than a contention that this expression must be Marcellus' in both cases (it reminds the reader of his allusive and there surely wrong analysis of the *Expositio fidei* in Seibt 1993; see now AW III 4, Dok. 48) and the different context suggests that he may be not. Thus fr. 40 Schwartz is still no decisive argument for Marcellus. Finally, the impressive survey by Grillmeyer 1977 claims a special concept of *κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος* for the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* and the *Expositio fidei* reserving the title for Christ in glory, free of all earthly burdens only. Of all scholars it was Seibt 1994, pp. 82–83, who stated first that Grillmeyer's narrow concept was not granted by all relevant passages of the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* (the *κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος* is also the crucified), an insight which must be developed further and which is especially evident for the *Expositio fidei*. Since it was the use of *κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος* for a particular 'Erhöhungschristologie' in these texts which made them for Grillmeyer so much 'Marcellan' and so little Athanasian, flaws in this interpretation influence the persuasiveness of the whole concept. There will be need for a thorough reassessment, but what remains for the moment is the simple fact that the nearest and earliest allusions to the term in question can in fact be found in Athanasius' *De incarnatione verbi* where he speaks about the *κυριακὸν σῶμα* which is (as Grillmeyer 1977, pp. 37–38 [with instances] himself stated) not far from the *κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος* of *Epistula ad Antiochenos* and *Expositio fidei* (which would be even more decisive if his theory would be questioned or even abolished as a whole). Lastly, the Origenist Didymus the Blind in his *De spiritu sancto* as well as in the Tura papyri being a soon user of the term (cf. Ghattas 2002, pp. 224–31) is easier to understand in doing so if he did not borrow it from the anti-Origenist Marcellus, but from an Alexandrian context.

fidei, thus, can be explained at best as the theological statement of what was most likely an Egyptian synod under Athanasius, which tried to define the own position and to refuse some statements attributed to Marcellus simultaneously. In this interpretation it is now part of the actual volume of *the Dokumente zur Geschichte des arianischen Streits, Athanasius Werke* III 4, as 'Dok. 48'.⁹⁵

So there are two texts which are in a narrower or wider sense Athanasian, the first of which was well known as an authoritative source against the Apollinarians in the time of the falsification affair. But, unfortunately, none of these is probably Rufinus' *libellus*. For the identification of the *libellus* there is a fourth criterion, which already Stuelcken saw and which caused Tetz to bring *De trinitate* XI into the discussion, but which should be explained a bit more extensively:⁹⁶ The *libellus* in the falsification affair must have contained the expression *dominicus homo* only once, when we consider the method of falsification and its effect. Only in this case the seeming corruption of the *locus* would abolish the expression completely. Had there been more *loci* with *dominicus homo*, one of two things would have happened by which the falsificator probably would have failed: Either he would have corrupted only one place or all. In the first case, Jerome could have easily pointed to the other places (in *Epistula* 7, in *Expositio* 2), where the term stood undisputed. The seemingly corrupted place could have been easily explained as a *correction* of a former scribal error. In the second case, the Apollinarist would have had to palm off a series of three or even seven corruptions on Jerome, making a new Carpinatius out of him. But there, things were different: Carpinatius as the 'author' of the *tabulae* knew that the lists were adulterated and his red face revealed his embarrassment since he could imagine that it was only a matter of time until Cicero would find out the non-existence of a Gaius Verrucius, son of Gaius. And Cicero had the time for a 'full check' of the text, since his whole action was based on the plan to check the complete tables carefully, getting every bit of evidence he could. In Rufinus' story, probably Jerome alone

⁹⁵ AW III 4, 346–54.

⁹⁶ See Tetz 1964, p. 241.

knew the complete text in which he just pointed to a certain place, where *dominicus homo* was written. Even in the relatively short *Expositio fidei* the Apolinarist would have had to check the complete text first to find all three places he had to erase; in the much longer *Epistula ad Antiochenos* this is nearly impossible in the course of events. And of course, the story Rufinus tells us loses much of its exactness, when he talks about a *locus* in the singular, while in reality there was an Apolinarist going through the whole text erasing and overwriting, erasing and overwriting...

So if a plausible identification requires a text with just one place with *dominicus homo* and the other three criteria are respected, too, there is – as far as we know – only one text extant which could fulfill all these criteria: It is the original Latin *De trinitate XI*.

There has not been much research on this text until now, which should be improved by further studies in the ‘Athanasius latinus’.⁹⁷ Here I have to limit myself to some striking features:

- The Trinitarian and Christological statements in the text presuppose some doctrinal and credal developments, which date probably into the 370s as a *terminus post quem*. Augustine seems to know it as Athanasian in his *Epistula* 148 from the year 413, giving a *terminus ante quem*.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ At the moment there are mostly short summaries for Latin texts under Athanasius’ name; cf. e.g. the articles Vinzent 2011 and Müller 2011 in the *Athanasius Handbuch* (with further literature), which show the need for more research. Further progress in the understanding of the different textual unities which are comprised in *De trinitate I–XII* would require a continuous commentary which considers the full manuscript tradition.

⁹⁸ Unfortunately an outline of arguments has to suffice here: The set of errors attributed to ‘the Arians’ in *trin. XI* generally presupposes some developments in the Arian controversy including the discussion about the Holy Spirit’s deity (cf. e.g. *trin. XI, II–III* [= CCSL IX 149, 16–150, 56]). Moreover the last issue (*trin. XI, XIII* [= CCSL IX 154, 229–30]: ‘Arriani dicunt post occasum mundi regnum filii dei finiendum’) which covers about the second half of the text and thus seems to mark the main point of interest is approached by the author using copious distinctions between Christ as God and Christ as man (e.g. ‘Nam quod nascitur ex tempore Christus in Bethlehem, quod in praeseptio declinatur, quod pannis involvitur, quod lactatur, quod crescit, quod adulescit [...] quod esurit, quod sitit [...] quod dormit, quod lassatur [...] quomodo igitur qui se loquitur Christianum non aduertit haec aut credit humanae esse substantiae, servilis quoque formae, non diuinae maiestatis atque potentiae?’ [CCSL IX 158, 369–90]). Most other Latin texts which develop this argument in such a comprehensive manner seem to date from the 370s onwards: cf. e.g. Niceta of Remesiana, *De ratione fidei* 6 (= Burn 15, 15–16, 22), Ps.-Athanasius, *De trinitate III* (= CCSL IX,

- The structure of the text, in which every part begins with ‘Arriani dicunt [...]’ and then follows as a reaction ‘Ego credo [...]’, implies an authority for the *Ego*. Thus it is probable that the text circulated from its very beginning under the name of Athanasius.
- The text contains in paragraph X the strange sentence: ‘Arriani dicunt filius erat, quando non erat’. Of course, the Arians did not say that the Son existed when he did not exist. Instead, they said: *it* was once, when he was not – ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν in Greek, an expression which was anathematized in the creed of Nicea. The unreflected, formula-like repeting of the Greek expression in Latin, breaking the logic of the sentence, can essentially be found in one author: Lucifer of Cagliari, strict adherent of ‘Old-Nicene’ orthodoxy, emphasizing the one substance of the deity and intransigent versus later improvements (like they were reached in the compromise which Athanasius’ *Tomus ad Antiochenos* was about).⁹⁹
- Furthermore, the author, while laying emphasis on the full equality of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, at the same time shows some uncertainty about the person of the Holy Spirit describing him primarily as *spiritus Christi*. At the time in

31–56, inter alia 41, 375–42, 381) (which is probably prior to Ambrose’s *De fide*) and maybe the so-called *Fides Romanorum* (edited best by Stürner 1969, pp. 162–64; the date needs further discussion), while e.g. Phoebadius of Agen in *Contra Arrianos* V, 3–5 (= CCSL LXIV, 28, 9–20), states the principle, but is rather short in enumerating examples. Since there are some similarities to Western reactions on Apollinarism, some texts by (synods under) Damasus offer parallels, too; cf. the texts provided by Reutter 2009, pp. 350–55.367–70 (cf. also the *Tomus Damasi* pp. 382–97). Augustine’s knowledge of *trin.* XI is probable if one compares his statement in *Ep.* 148, 2, 10 (‘Beatissimus quoque Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, cum ageret aduersus Arrianos, qui tantummodo deum patrem inuisibilem dicunt, filium uero et spiritum sanctum uisibiles putant [...]’) with the relevant passage in *trin.* XI, VII (= CCSL IX, 151, 108–09) (‘Arriani dicunt dei filium secundum diuinitatis substantiam et uisibilem et minorem [...]’), as was pointed out by Altaner 1949, pp. 84–86, referring to Courcelle 1943, p. 188. The doubt about this identification expressed by Drobner 1986, p. 195, seems a bit far-fetched, if one considers Augustine’s rather paraphrasing style in *Ep.* 148 on the one hand and the still relatively manageable number of Latin pseudo-Athanasian texts on the other.

⁹⁹ This characteristic of Lucifers’s writings was analyzed by Dekkers in CCSL VIII, CXVI–CXVII (with reference to *trin.* XI in n. 13!). Pérez Mas 2008, p. 173, used it as single argument for ascribing *trin.* XI to a Luciferian author, which should be corroborated by other aspects (see below).

question, this is quite typical of the theology represented by Gregory of Elvira (a bit earlier) and the presbyter Faustinus – both Luciferians.¹⁰⁰ And this seems to be the group the author belonged to: rigorous in discipline and bound to an ‘Old-Nicene’ concept, the Luciferians produced a schism to all other catholics who had tried to find a compromise after the quarrels of the 350s and 360s (see below chapter 6). In Rome their main enemy was Damasus.

- Thus, finally: Considering the relationship between Damasus and the Luciferians, it can be assumed that his secretary would not have taken up their literary products as helpful material – if they were visible as the authors. So if *De trinitate XI* should be the *libellus* of the falsification affair, it should be classified as real forgery, as a text really pretending to be a work of Athanasius – with success.

As the analysis of evidence for an identification of the *libellus Athanasii* in the falsification affair has shown, every attempt to find a convincing solution will include some premisses and further hypotheses to draw a full picture. My attempt has run as follows:

The premisses for a search of the *libellus Athanasii* are that the text can be still extant at all and that it is attributed to Athanasius in the surviving manuscripts. Thus other texts including the term *dominicus homo* were excluded from the very beginning. Since four texts have been handed down to our time under Athanasius’ name which contain the relevant term, the text from Rufinus’ story could be within this group. To find out the most probable candidate for an identification, a set of aspects has been extrapolated from the description in *De adulteratione librorum Origenis* 13 (in comparison with Jerome’s reaction): the classification as

¹⁰⁰ See e.g. the similarities of Gregory’s *De fide* 8, 116, 119–18, 127 Simonetti (cf. also Simonetti 1975, pp. 20–21), and Faustinus’ creed (CCSL LXIX.: ‘Nos patrem credimus, qui non sit filius, sed habeat filium de se sine initio genitum, non factum; et filium credimus, qui non sit pater, sed habeat patrem, de quo sit genitus, non factus; et spiritum sanctum credimus, qui sit vere spiritus dei. [...] et spiritus sanctus, non creatura existens sed spiritus dei’) to *trin.* XI, XIII (= CCSL IX, 160, 476–79) (‘Manifestissimis igitur testimoniis probatur, quod spiritus sanctus, spiritus paraclytus, spiritus, qui a patre procedit, spiritus sit filii, spiritus Christi, spiritus Iesu’) in respect of rather vague descriptions of the Holy Spirit as a divine person of his own.

libellus/liber, the fitting to a context of doctrinal dispute and the probably singular occurrence of the expression *dominicus homo* (or its Greek equivalent)¹⁰¹ in the text. Checking every of the four ‘Athanasian’ texts (the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* being possibly authentic), the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* as well as the *Expositio fidei* fail by their numerous places with the disputed expression, while the *Expositiones in Psalmos* are an improbable candidate because of their date and extent (in respect of the context). Thus following the exclusion principle, it can be stated that the pseudo-Athanasian *De trinitate XI* is at least the most probable of the today known extant candidates. Looking at some key features of this text, it can be characterised in a way typical for Luciferian texts of this time. According to the context (Jerome as a partisan of Damasus), it can then be supposed that it was a forgery in the strict sense defined in chapter three of this contribution.

If one accepts these considerations, this affair, in fact being a falsification as well as a forgery affair, would take a very complex shape. I therefore give a summary of the supposed course of events, including an interpretation in respect of the role of authority: When Jerome had to compose a *fides* and to discuss with the Apollinarists, he had a little treatise at hand, which he considered to be by Athanasius, and only for this reason he took the *codex* containing it, when the Apollinarists protested against the term *dominicus homo*. His idea, according to the presentation of Rufinus, was not to discuss the term in detail, but to make the case clear through the testimony of an undisputable authority. The Apollinarists were not able to deny the Athanasian authorship of the text and so had to find another way to get rid of this evidence. When one remembers Peter of Alexandria’s statement about the anti-Apollinarian use of the *Epistula ad Antiochenos*, which contained the expression κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος several times, the behavior of the Apollinarist would perhaps become all the more understandable, since Athanasius *really* seems to have used the term – and perhaps he knew that. The corruption-trick worked well for some time, because it made the doctrinal problem of the Apollinarists to a, one could say, ‘philological’ prob-

¹⁰¹ To be strict, a further premise of my reconstruction is that generally, Rufinus’ scene is open for both a text in Greek or Latin.

lem of Jerome: By putting the term on an erasure, the aspect of authority was out of the game and so the rules were levelled down to the situation of Carpinatius and Cicero. So changing the rules of the game was the key point of the Apollinarist's action. But no one was able to see the bogus base of the whole affair: An original Latin, probably Luciferian forgery, which had found its way into the *scrinium* of the Roman Luciferians' most hated enemy.

6. Epilogue: Winners and Losers

The falsification affair remained a momentary episode, as Rufinus' conclusion already shows. Neither did Jerome suffer any loss nor were the Apollinarists successful in the long run. But why had the secretary of Damasus and author of a *Altercatio contra Luciferianos* probably tried to solve the *dominicus homo* problem by presenting a Luciferian forgery?¹⁰² The obvious answer: 'He did not realize the text to be one' only leads to the next 'Why?'

To understand the seeming curiosity it is necessary to assess how far Jerome really was from the Luciferians. As noted above, this schismatic group had two main characteristics: 1) rigor in discipline concerning the steadfastness with which the Nicene creed was defended;¹⁰³ and 2) an idea of the Trinity which emphasized the term *una substantia* such that it could be classified as miahypostatic.¹⁰⁴ Jerome wrote in his *Altercatio contra Luciferia-*

¹⁰² The *Altercatio* was edited by A. Canellis in CCSL LXXIX B.

¹⁰³ Thus the Luciferians blamed all bishops who had subscribed in Rimini in 359 AD for falling into heresy, while the majority of Nicene bishops agreed with the decisions of the synod of Alexandria in 362 AD to forgive all those who repented their behavior in Rimini and subscribed the Nicene creed. For the Luciferian view of Rimini see Faustinus' and Marcellinus' *Libellus precum* (CCSL LXIX and SC 504) as a whole; the most comprehensive study of the Luciferian crisis is Pérez Mas 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Although this is a Greek term and our remaining Luciferian sources are Latin (and in their inner logic clearly Western) it may fit, since a passage in the above mentioned creed of Faustinus (CCSL LXIX: 'Miramur autem illos catholicos probari posse, qui patris et filii et spiritus sancti tres substantias confitentur. Sed et si dicunt non se credere filium dei aut spiritum sanctum creaturam, tamen contra piam fidem sentiunt, cum dicunt tres esse substantias: consequens est enim ut tres deos confiteantur, qui tres substantias confitentur') clearly shows that he understood the otherwise catholic phrase 'three hypostases' as *tres substantiae*

nos against the first one only.¹⁰⁵ His work should perhaps support the position of Damasus who was confronted with the Luciferians's attacks later.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, it has been noticed that Jerome outside the *Altercatio* speaks about Lucifer with respect for his steadfastness.¹⁰⁷ Thus the gap between the seeming opponents may not have been that huge even in this respect. The falsification affair, however, was concerned with dogmatic questions – and here an interesting similarity can be found.

In 376 Jerome, staying at the 'Chalkis dessert' near Antioch, was confronted with conflicting Trinitarian concepts and felt forced to make a decision for one of them. Instead of settling the problem on his own, he wrote to Damasus asking for an authoritative solution, although he had a clear preference, as can be deduced from the following passage:

and thus identified hypostasis and *substantia*. For the interpretation of this creed see Pérez Mas 2008, pp. 157–58, who pp. 341–56, however, tries to 'open' the Luciferian doctrine of the Trinity on the basis of (in my opinion unsuccessful) attributions of some other pseudo-Athanasian writings (the *libri De trinitate I–VIII*) – which are closer to Neo-Nicene ideas – to this group; a more comprehensive reassessment of Pérez Más 2008 and the profile of a Luciferian theology will have to be part of future investigations on the pseudo-Athanasian *libri De trinitate I–XII*, since the question of their ascription or non-ascription to the Luciferians and the question what 'Luciferian' exactly means are intertwined with each other.

¹⁰⁵ See Opelt 1973, pp. 13–27. The lack of discrepancies in the doctrine of God is obvious by the fact that Jerome's main strategy is to identify the rigoristic Luciferian position with that of the Donatists (or to make it look even worse): The Donatists had produced a long-lasting schism in North Africa concerning the dignity of bishops, but had not propagated any heretical ideas of God in this context; cf. Bright 2007, pp. 98–104 (with further literature).

¹⁰⁶ He is the main adversary in Faustinus' and Marcellinus' *Libellus precum* (LP). See LP 79–82 (= CCSL LXIX SC 504, 182, 1–186, 9) where he is painted as evil persecutor of the righteous. The date of the *Altercatio* is a subject of debate: A majority (among others Barthold 2011, p. 408 and Opelt 1973, p. 13, with further literature) votes for 378/79 and thus for Antioch as place of composition, mainly relying on the position the work has in Jerome's list of his writings in *De viris illustribus* 135 (= 262 Barthold), while some scholars (e.g. Reutter 2009, p. 27) prefer c. 382 and thus Rome, since it would fit well into the conflict between Damasus and the Luciferians here. However, a pro-Damasian intention of the work could be supposed in any case, since Jerome was contact with Damasus already in Antioch (see below).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. his statements in *De viris illustribus* 95 (= 240 Barthold) and in the *Chronicle ad an. 370* (*Eusebius Werke* VII, GCS 23 Helm) and further information by Pérez Mas 2008, p. 139.

[...] *Decernite, obsecro: si placet, non timebo tres hypostases dicere; si iubetis, condatur noua post Nicenam fides et similibus uerbis cum Arrianis confiteamur orthodoxi. Tota saecularium litterarum schola nihil aliud hypostasin nisi usian nouit. Et quisquam, rogo, ore sacrilego tres substantias praedicabit? Una est dei sola natura, quae uere est – ad id enim, quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed suum est –, cetera, quae creata sunt, etiamsi uidentur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt et potest rursus non esse, quod non fuit. [...] Sed quia illa sola est infecta natura et in tribus personis deitas una subsistit, quae est uere, una natura est: quisque tria esse, hoc est tres ὑποστάσεις dicit, sub nomine pietatis tres naturas conatur adserere. Et si ita est, cur ab Arrio parietibus separamur perfidia copulati? [...] Sufficiat nobis dicere unam substantiam, tres personas subsistentes perfectas, aequales, coaeternas; taceantur tres hypostases, si placet, et una teneatur. [...] Quam ob rem obtestor beatitudinem tuam per crucifixum, mundi salutem, per homousiam trinitatem, ut mihi epistulis tuis siue tacendarum siue dicendarum hypostaseon detur auctoritas.*¹⁰⁸

A comparison with Faustinus's creed (in note 103) shows their common doubt about the concept of three hypostases. Of course, this doubt originated from meticulous philological considerations in Jerome's case while in Faustinus's it may have been due to a quite narrow-minded dogmatic concept. However, the result was at first glance comparable in respect of characteristic sentences, while most parts of *De trinitate XI* contain rather generic Latin anti-Arian statements anyway. Thus if we consider the common ground in *rebus dogmaticis* as well as the partial and situational polemic of the *Altercatio*, Jerome's reception of a Luciferian forgery may be understandable.

In this perspective the first 'winners' of the falsification affair would have been the Luciferians: They had managed to place a forged text such that it was received well in Rome and propagated their dogmatic position in the anti-Arian framework which was crucial for their self-concept.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Jerome, *Ep.* 15, 4, 1–5, 1 (= CSEL 54, 65, 7–67, 7 Hilberg).

¹⁰⁹ The issue of a Luciferian self-concept was investigated by Pérez Mas 2008, pp. 19–32, 55–71 et passim. Despite all our distinctions between rather disciplinary and rather dogmatic details it should be noted that in the Luciferians' own perspective all current grievances had their origin in the Arian heresy and the

A second winner may be somewhat surprising: Athanasius himself. Of course, the Alexandrian bishop had been dead for nearly ten years, but if his role in Western traditions considered, successful pseudepigraphic works would increase 'his' influence on further church historical developments.¹¹⁰ It would have been an irony of fate if it is true that the term *κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος*, possibly coined by himself, found its way into the West inter alia by a pseudo-Athanasian text, while the potentially authentic *Epistula ad Antiochenos* (and *Expositio fidei*) perhaps remained unknown for a long time.¹¹¹

However, the Luciferians as well as Athanasius were winners in the background. An obvious but momentary winner in the falsification affair itself was the Apollinarist adulterator. On the other hand, the failure of his group to obtain acceptance by the Roman bishop made his temporary success irrelevant.¹¹²

Looking at Jerome, there are different results: His 'sleeping' in the affair gave him trouble twice, since he had to refute the Apollinarist's claim as well as he had to (try to) control the memory of this event which had been set in another framework that

majority's failure to stand up against it consequently which was ultimately only the logical implication of a wrong Trinitarian position; cf. the presentation of events in the *Libellus precum* (which later got the title *De confessione verae fidei*, if we consider the *Incipit* of some manuscripts; cf. SC 504, p. 106 Canellis) as a whole.

¹¹⁰ For a possible influence of *De trinitate XI* on Leo I's *Tomus ad Flavianum* and other writings see for the moment Drobner 1986, pp. 195–96. The historical Athanasius' *Tomus ad Antiochenos* 6 (= AW II 8, 345, 15–346, 13) shows that in Antioch he addressed among others the group around Paulinus, who had been ordained as bishop by Lucifer at this time (Ruf. h.e. X 28 [= 991, 3–13 Mommsen]). He thus saw possibilities for an orthodox miahypostatic idea of the Trinity; cf. Gemeinhardt 2006, pp. 176–84.

¹¹¹ For Athanasius' possible, and maybe probable, authorship of the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* see above chapter 5 of this contribution. Of course, it is not my intention to contend that the term was brought to the West by *De trinitate XI* alone. As another 'source' Didymus the Blind's *De spiritu sancto* (which was used by Ambrose for his own work in 380) followed after 385 in the form of Jerome's translation; cf. Sieben 2004, pp. 61–62; and we cannot exclude the possibility that *dominicus homo* in *trin.* XI, XIII was in fact inspired by a reading of *Ep. Ant./Exp. fid.* However, until now we have no early direct evidence for the existence of these texts in the West by Latin translations or distinct quotations. Later there are quotations in Gelasius I' *De duabus naturis* (see Schwartz 1924, pp. 97–98.103) and in the above mentioned Facundus.

¹¹² As Reutter 2009, pp. 370–73, has pointed out, Damasus improved his knowledge about Apollinaris and his doctrine in the course of time and classified it as heresy then.

caused problems on its own. The second aspect leads to the literary level of Jerome's *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*. Its success is not easy to determine (see below), but, as the above analysis may have shown, he found a line of argument which minimized the importance of the falsification affair. And even the Origenist controversy as far as Rufinus and Jerome were involved, came to an end some time after Jerome's *Apologia*.

Interestingly, however, before this end there must have circulated a bogus letter under the name of Jerome in Africa, in which 'Jerome' apologized for preferring the Hebrew text of the Old Testament while ignoring the authority of the Septuagint in his exegetical works and which, as Jerome implies, seemed to be composed by Rufinus to give Jerome a bad name as exegete.¹¹³

But then, Rufinus stopped the ping-pong game and turned to other works like the translation and continuation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Some researchers saw here a victory on Jerome's side and resignation on Rufinus'. However, the social-historical study of Stefan Rebenich on 'Hieronymus und sein Kreis' comes to a different result: Neither Jerome nor Rufinus won or lost any important friends or patrons/matrons in the whole controversy. So the social networks which were of crucial importance for both ascetics remained stable – probably due to the fact that both rivals were able to satisfy the expectations of their supporters.¹¹⁴ That being said, the Origenist controversy as a whole is still far from being a mere game without serious consequences. But in regard to Rufinus and Jerome and their personal interests, a balance seemed to be established by revealing so much weakness on both sides.

The real loser in the long run was Origen, whose work was in great parts abolished or reworked, while Rufinus and Jerome were bestsellers in the following centuries.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ See Jerome, *Adv. Lib. Ruf.* II, 24 (= CCSL LXXIX, 60, 1–61, 50).

¹¹⁴ This is the plausible explanation by Rebenich 1992, pp. 206–07. The role of supporters' expectations becomes visible by a look back to the beginning of the controversy in Rome: It was Macarius who urged Rufinus to translate Pamphilus' *Apology* as well as *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, obviously hoping to strengthen the pro-Origenist position. Oceanus' request to Jerome for a literal translation of *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* had the same goal vice versa.

¹¹⁵ One might estimate Jerome's success higher, since he became one of the four Western *doctores ecclesiae* later; see Lössl 2004. However, Rufinus' *Church*

7. *A Reconstruction of the Falsification Affair: Main Results*

Any attempt to reconstruct an event in the past, which is documented by fragmentary evidence only, has to deal with the fact that not every detail can be reconstructed with the same certainty, and that it is impossible to reach absolute certainty at all. In the previous chapters, I have argued for specific solutions of a complex and intricate problem. Within these chapters it seemed necessary to highlight the most probable options, which should not be understood as a certainty I cannot prove. The best way to consider these circumstances at the end of my attempt to reconstruct the falsification affair may thus be a short presentation of the main results in a hierarchy of arguments and probabilities.

1. It can be taken for granted that the story Rufinus told in *De adulteratione librorum Origenis* 13 really happened at Rome in the time of Damasus, since the victim himself, Jerome, attested it. The course of events in this falsification affair can be reconstructed by the detailed description Rufinus offers. To understand the implications better on which the Apollinarist's trick worked, the results from a previous look on Cicero's Carpinatius affair have been helpful (see chapter 2 of this contribution).

Jerome, therefore, had been tricked in 382 by an Apollinarist who erased the term *dominicus homo* from a *libellus Athanasii*, but wrote it again on the razored place. According to the usual ancient expectations on textual manipulations, the wording of the text had to count as corrupted. As a consequence, the authority of the alleged author Athanasius was separated from the disputed term, and Jerome had (for the moment) lost his argument for the orthodoxy of this expression (see chapter 4 of this contribution). Since there seems to be little discussion about the events in the first Origenist controversy, also the background for the composition of *De adulteratione librorum*

history is preserved in more than hundred manuscripts and was one of the main sources which formed the memory of the first Christian centuries throughout the Latin Middle Ages (cf. Mommsen 1909, pp. CCLII–CCLVII). Origen's fate as a heretic in later reception is documented e.g. by Röwekamp 2005, pp. 208–13 (with further literature).

Origenis as well as the further quarrel between Rufinus and Jerome belong to the 'hard facts' (see chapters 3 to 6 of this contribution).

2. To understand the whole scene more precisely, the question has to be answered, which text was manipulated by the Apollinarist. But due to the rough description by Rufinus and Jerome, only a search for the most probable candidate out of the now extant texts under Athanasius' name which contain the term *dominicus homo* or its Greek equivalent, is possible. It cannot be excluded, that Jerome's *liber Athanasii* is lost now, but if a candidate could be found which fits to the situation in 382, there should be no reason to estimate the loss of the *liber/libellus* more probable.

If this setting for the search of the text is accepted, of the four relevant candidates the original Latin *De trinitate XI* fits best to the scene described by Rufinus (see chapter 5 of this contribution). Since there is no one who claims the authenticity of this text, it would follow that Jerome as well as the Apollinarist accepted in their discussion a text as Athanasian which was not what it seemed to be. The authority of Athanasius, so it seems, was outstanding and the authorship of a text under his name was not questioned as long as it fitted altogether to expectations of the readers, especially Jerome (see chapter 5 of this contribution).

3. Further considerations depend, of course, on the character of the *libellus Athanasii*. If the identification as *De trinitate XI* is accepted for the moment, this text can be analysed in respect of its key features and thus of its doctrinal standpoint. Since there has not been much research on this text, only preliminary impressions can be proposed. But developing a characterisation of this text would mean to add a new dimension to the constellations in the falsification affair.

Working onto this aim, some characteristics of the text make it plausible to classify it as Luciferian at the moment. This cannot be ruled out by the fact that Jerome as a partisan of Damasus wrote an *Altercatio* against the Luciferians, since he may have differed from them in respect of their rigorism, but was near to them in respect of a miahypostatic idea of the trinity, as it is expressed in *De trinitate XI*. As a consequence, the possibil-

ity should be considered that, before the falsification affair had started, a forgery affair had taken place in which the (Roman) Luciferians had managed to produce a text under the name of Athanasius which seemed acceptable even for their opponents, but even so contained some main theological views of them. Thus for the falsification affair there would be a kind of three 'poles' between which the course of events should be interpreted: the sympathiser of a miahypostatic view of the trinity Jerome, secretary of Damasus (a man who managed some opening to a Neo-Nicene point of view); an Apollinarist, being at pains to abolish the term *dominus homo* which was probably or at least possibly used by the great Athanasius; a probably Luciferian text which contained and thus approved the disputed term *dominus homo* by the authority of Athanasius' name. The historical situation would thus gain much more complexity, also according to the question of winners and losers (see chapter 6 of this contribution).

8. *Forgery, Falsification, Adulteration: Some Conclusions*

Understanding the falsification affair in the way presented in this contribution leads to important implications for some general questions and for the Western reception of Athanasius in particular.

1. Falsification (as well as some cases of forgery) in pre-modern texts had first of all a component of craftsmanship. Manipulations took place in a visible, 'material' way and thus could be identified by a careful investigation of the manuscript. Things would change at the moment in which a falsified text was copied and the traces of falsification disappeared – unless one took a kind of facsimile as Cicero did. On the other hand, the obvious consensus about the recognisability of falsifications made frauds on the basis of this consensus possible as the falsification affair showed.
2. If proving the corruption of a text's version depended on the comparison with other specimens, as was the case in Origen and was possible for Jerome in the falsification affair, the possibilities for such a proof were determined by the state of trans-

mission: A widespread text would be easier to investigate than one to which no specimens were available for comparison. Additionally, the author (if alive) himself should be considered as the best 'source' for an authentic version, as Origen's defence showed. However, this might have depended on the author's actual authority.

3. In its basic sense of manipulating the wording of a previous existing text, falsification is not necessarily bound to (personal) authority. The case of Carpinatius is only one example of a wide range of writings which were changed with criminal aims in ancient everyday life. In some way it corresponds to the fact that in those cases where there was no connection with the discourse of authority, there was no need for a long discussion: The manipulation was very mechanical – and the immediate juridical consequences were it in some way, too.
4. As the programme of this conference clearly shows, the bond of falsification (or forgery) and authority is not an exclusively Christian phenomenon, although according to the mass of texts the *remaining* examples of falsified or forged texts are in majority Christian. But the concept of orthodoxy and heresy gave authority a certain determinant: Christian authority could be based on different facts, but without orthodoxy authority could not stand. The case of Origen clearly shows how the orthodoxy-heresy-model brought up a paradox: the simultaneity of an ongoing 'orthodox improvement' and a development-less reconstruction of an orthodox past which had already contained all elements of the actual orthodox doctrine. Falsification and forgery thus got a new and specific subject: orthodox contents according to the present circumstances.
5. In this perspective, Rufinus' *De adulteratione librorum Origenis* can be understood as an attempt to defend Origen *within* a paradigm which was about to condemn him. Rufinus constructed a complementary anti-orthodox line of tradition concerning falsification which originated in the devil's work – in contrast to the apostles and their followers whose writings were inspired by the Lord's doctrine.

6. The falsification affair, which Rufinus documented because of this construction, shows the impotence of ancient theologians to identify forgeries as long as they fit to the supposed author in central issues. For the Apollinarists, falsification became a kind of 'self-defence' against any unacceptable content, while the authority of the supposed author of the text, Athanasius, was untouchable.
7. In a greater context, such as the first Origenist controversy, we are confronted with real 'nets' of forgeries and falsifications. Forging or falsifying a text was quite easy by hand, but, as the alternating accusations between Rufinus and Jerome show, none of these actions was seen as normal or free of guilt. But as the 'textual tricks' lay on a different level than the case of Carpiniatus, it was no option to go to court. Instead, it needed argumentation – and a lot of rhetoric – to set one's own position in the right light and to undermine the other. Thus the method of presentation had an effect on the estimation of forgeries and falsifications. Rufinus and Jerome referred to the very facts of the falsification affair in a quite similar way, while they differed greatly in the consequences they drew. Additionally, the struggle about Origen's letter shows how thin the line between translation and falsification was.
8. Talking about the authority of others had a significant effect on the authority of one's own. Jerome reacted so harshly to Rufinus' statements about him as a translator of Origen, because he saw the danger which would arise to him being bound to the sinking star of Origen. Refuting Rufinus' falsification theory was thus a means among others to protect his own authority as an orthodox translator and exegete – just as Rufinus could secure his influence on pro-Origenist circles by proposing it. Examples like the now lost bogus letter of 'Jerome' accusing himself show how far the questions of authority could reach, since it was neither Rome nor Bethlehem, but Africa, where the forgery caused discussions about Jerome as an exegete, probably as a result of (Rufinus'?) revenge for Jerome's objections against the translation practice of Rufinus.

9. The falsification affair also shows how fast Athanasius of Alexandria had been established as an undisputable authority in the Latin West. The fact that *he* had used *dominicus homo* would have been sufficient for Jerome to prove the orthodoxy of this term. Since, according to the considerations presented in chapter 5 of this contribution, a new *terminus ante quem* for *De trinitate XI* can be proposed, it can be added to the other original Latin texts under the name of Athanasius, which already existed at this time: The first eight *libri De trinitate* in two versions and probably two bogus letters to Lucifer of Cagliari, in which ‘Athanasius’ praises Lucifer as the real master of orthodoxy.¹¹⁶ The *libellus precum* of Faustinus and Marcellinus hints to these obviously Luciferian letters and falsely adds that Athanasius, being experienced in Greek and Latin, translated Lucifer’s work into Greek.¹¹⁷ So Athanasius’ authority led not only to attempts to use it for one’s own sake, but also to new constructions of him as a figure in the history of orthodoxy.
10. My attempt to identify the *libellus* of the falsification affair also shows the irrelevance of historical authenticity of Athanasian authorship in Late Antiquity – and the same could be said for the Middle Ages. Of course it is interesting for *our* questions concerning the history of Christian theology whether the *Epistula ad Antiochenos* was written by Marcellus or Athanasius (or *De trinitate XI* by an anonymous Luciferian). But the whole effect those texts caused from about the 370s onwards was solely due to the fact that they were considered as Athanasius’ works. The whole discussion, which I could only touch on above, needs to be reassessed in a broader context of Athanasian and Pseudo-Athanasian writings. Perhaps my little look at the falsification affair could show that there would be much to find.

¹¹⁶ The texts are available in CCSL VIII, 306–10 (*Ep. I* and *II ad Lucif.*), and IX, 1–99.115–18 (*trin. I–VII.VIII*). Their date will require further discussion (cf. n. 97). A *terminus ante quem* of 383/84 for the *Epistulae ad Luciferum* is given by their mentioning in the *libellus precum*, see next note.

¹¹⁷ Faustinus, *lib. prec.* 88 (= SC 504, 192, 1–194, 10).

Appendix:
Comparative Table of Rufinus' and Jerome's Claims
about Evidence of Falsification
(According to Extracts from De adult. and Adv. lib. Ruf.)

Rufinus, <i>De adult.</i>	Jerome, <i>Adv. lib. Ruf.</i>
<p>1 In his quae in superiore libro <i>secundum apologeticum sancti martyris Pamphili, quem pro Origene Graeco sermone edidit, prout potuimus uel res poposcit, Latino sermone digessimus</i>, illud est quod te, desideriorum uir, Machari, admonitum uolo, ut scias hanc quidem fidei regulam, quam de libris eius supra exposuimus, esse quae et amplectenda sit et tenenda. In omnibus enim his catholicum inesse sensum euidenter probatur. <i>Inueniri tamen in eius libris quaedam ab his non solum diuersa, sed nonnumquam etiam contraria</i>, et ea quae ueritatis regula non admittit, agnosce, quae nos quoque nec recipimus nec probamus. [...] <i>Dubitari non puto quod hoc nullo genere fieri potuit, ut uir tam eruditus [...] ipse sibi contraria et repugnantia suis sententiis scriberet.</i> [...] quia ergo haec incidere ne in eum quidem poterant qui uel mente motus uel cerebro esset insanus, quid sit in causa quam possum breuiter edocebo.</p> <p>2 Quanta sit haereticorum temeritas, [...] facile intellegi datur ex his quae frequenter et ausi sunt et conuicti. Nam sicut <i>patri ipsorum diabolo ab initio falsare uerba dei</i> atque inflectere a suo ordine, et sui ueneni interserere uirus <i>studium fuit</i>, ita et istis successoribus suis hanc suae artis hereditatem reliquit. [...] <i>Haec exempla patris sui atque hanc artem magistri sui secuti haeretici</i>, quoscumque ueterum nobilium tractatorum inuenerunt [...] non pepercerunt scriptis eorum dogmatum suorum uenenatum uirus infundere, <i>siue interpolando quae dixerant siue quae non dixerant inserendo</i> [...] Et horum <i>manifestissimas</i></p>	<p>15 Dicis te non esse defensorem neque assertorem Origenis ... Non tibi suffecerat Eusebii, vel certe, ut tu vis, Pamphili pro Origene defensio, nisi, quod ab illis minus dictum putabas, tu quasi sapientior et doctior adderes [...]</p> <p>16 [...] Vir doctissimus Eusebius per sex volumina nihil aliud agit nisi ut Originem suae ostendat fidei, id est Arianæ perfidia. ... Tibi in quo somnio Alexandrini carceris reuelatum est, ut quae ille uera profitetur, falsata confingas? [...]</p>

inter Graecos scriptores ecclesiasticos probationes tenemus. [...]

3 *Clemens* apostolorum discipulus, qui *Romanae ecclesiae post apostolos et episcopus et martyr* fuit, libros edidit qui appellantur *Anagorismos* [...]. Quibus cum ex persona *Petri* apostoli doctrina quasi uere apostolica in quamplurimis exponatur, in aliquibus ita *Eunomii* dogma scribitur, ut nihil aliud quam ipse *Eunomius* disputare credatur, filium dei creatum de nullis extantibus adseuerans. [...]

4 *Clemens* quoque alius, *Alexandrinus presbyter* et magister ecclesiae illius, in omnibus paene libris suis trinitatis gloriam [...] unam eandemque designat: et interdum inuenimus aliqua in libris eius capitula, in quibus filium dei creaturam dicit...

5 *Dionysius* [...] *Alexandrinus episcopus*, [...] cum in quam plurimis in tantum unitatem ... trinitatis defendat, ut inperitioribus quibusque etiam secundum *Sabellium* sensisse uideatur, in his tamen libris ipsius, quos aduersum *Sabellii* haeresim scribit, talia inueniuntur inserta, ut frequenter *Arriani* auctoritate ipsius se defendere conentur. Propter quod et *sanctus episcopus Athanasius* compulsus est *apologeticum pro libris ipsius scribere* [...]

6–7 see main text chapter 4

8 Haec ipse adhuc superstes conqueritur, quae scilicet per semetipsum deprehendere potuit adulterata esse in libris suis atque falsata. Meminimus sane etiam in alia eius epistula similem nos de librorum suorum falsitate legisse querimoniam [...] Quod in ueteribus sanctis [...] solo argumento ex rerum consequentia ac recti tenore praesumpto ostenditur ac probatur quod, si quid in libris eorum contra ecclesiasticam fidem inueni-

17 [...] (*paraphrase of adult. 3–5*) [...] Et sub his exemplis illud agit, ut non ecclesiasticos et catholicos viros male sensisse, sed ab haereticis eorum scripta corrupta esse testetur, et concludat ad ad extremum dicens:

[...] (*quotation of beginning adult. 6*) [...]

see main text chapter 4

tur, id insertum ab haereticis potius quam ab ipsis scriptum putetur: hoc in Origene non argumento solo [...], sed testimonio quemoniarum suarum ex suis scriptis prolato, absurdum non puto si credatur. [...]

9 [...] *Apostolorum* uero uel *actus uel epistulas qualiter polluerint* [scil haeretici] qualiter corroserint qualiter in omnibus maculaerint, uel addendo impia uel auferendo quae pia sunt, si quis plenius scire uult, *ex his libris Tertulliani quos aduersum Marcionem scripsit, plenissime recognoscet*. [...] <in> *haereticis unus est diaboli spiritus*, qui eos eandem ac similem semper malitiam docet.

10 Verum ne cui forte minus ad credendum uideantur idonea ea quae ex libris Graecorum scriptorum exempla protulimus ..., *non pigebit etiam Latinis scriptoribus talia quaedam accidisse monstrare* ...

11 *Hilarius, Pictauiensis episcopus*, confessor fidei catholicae fuit. Hic cum [...] libellum instructionis plenissime conscripsisset, cumque libellus ipse in manus inimicorum [...], ut quidam dicebant, corrupto notario, alii uero alia occasione [...], tamen cum in manus inimicorum, ipso ignorante, uenisset, ita ab his corruptus est, illo sancto uiro nihil penitus sentiente, ut postea, cum ad concilium episcoporum secundum ea quae se in libello ipsius nouerant corrupisse, haeticum eum inimici arguere coepissent, et ipse libelli sui fidem pro sui defensione flagitaret, de domo sua prolatus libellus talis inuentus est, quem ipse non agnosceret, faceret tamen eum excommunicatum de concilii conuentione discedere. *Verum quia uiuenti et adhuc in corpore posito res quamuis scelerata et inaudita contigerat, doli cogniti factio deprehensa, resecta scelerum machina potuit emendari: adhibita curatio est adsertionibus satisfac-*

[...] Non ei sufficit Graecos et antiquos calumniari de quibus [...] habet licentiam quicquid voluerit mentiendi.

Venit ad Latinos et primum ponit Hilarium confessorrem [...] Responde, quaeso: Synodus a qua excommunicatus est, in qua urbe fuit? Dic episcoporum vocabula, profer sententias! [...] Nihil horum nominas, sed virum eloquentissimum et contra Arianos Latini sermonis tubam, ut Origenem defendas, excommunicatum a synodo criminari [...]

Transit ad inclytum martyrem *Cyprianum* [...] In quo crimine mentitur duo, nam nec Tertulliani liber est nec Cypriani dicitur, sed *Novatiani*, cuius et inscribitur titulo et auctoris eloquium stili proprietate demonstrat.

tionibus et omnibus his quae uiuentes pro se facere possunt. [...]

12 *Sancti Cypriani martyris* solet omne epistularum corpus *in uno codice* scribi. Huic corpori haeretici quidam, qui in spiritum sanctum blasphemant, *Tertulliani libellum de trinitate* [...] *inserentes* et quamplurimos codices de talibus exemplaribus conscribentes, *per totam Constantinopolim urbem maximam distrabi pretio uiliori fecerunt*, ut exiguitate pretii homines inlecti ignotos et latentes dolos facilius compararent, quo per hoc inuenirent haeretici perfidiae suae fidem tanti uiri auctoritate conquirere. [...] Quamplurimis [...] in illis partibus ... Cyprianum huius fidei, quae a Tertulliano non recte scripta est, fuisse persuasum est.

13 *see main text chapter 4*

14 Si ergo et Origenes talia ab haeticis [...] se esse perpeccatum in epistula sua propria uoce conqueritur, et multis aliis catholicis uiris tam uiuis quam defunctis eadem acciderunt [...], *quae tandem animi obstinatio est in aequali causa non aequali uti uenia, sed ex eisdem accidentibus aliis excusationis reuerentiam aliis infamiam criminationis intendere?* ...

15 Denique *quidam* ex ipsis, qui se, uelut euangelizandi, necessitatem per omnes gentes et per omnes linguas *habere putat de Origene male loquendi*, sex milia librorum eius se legisse quamplurima fratrum multitudine audiente confessus est. [...] accusatores fratrum non inueniemur apud deum, quia diaboli proprium hoc opus esse dicitur accusandi fratres: unde et diabolus a criminando nomen accepit; simul et maledicorum sententiam, quae a regno dei separat eos qui tales sunt, declinamus.

see main text chapter 4

[...] erumpit aliquando contra papam *Epiphanium* et dolorem pectoris sui, quod eum in epistula, quam ad Iohannem scripserat, haeticum arguit [...] Ergo beati episcopi Anastasius et Theophilus [...] qui illum denuntiant populis fures librorum illius iudicandi sunt [...]?

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Abstract

The article investigates an episode which was told by Rufinus and in which Jerome was tricked by the falsification of a *liber* or *libellus Athanasii* by an Apollinarist delegate, while he was the secretary of pope Damasus. This episode raises different questions in respect of the technique the Apollinarist used as well as of the text of Athanasius, which was falsified. To find adequate instruments for an analysis, the article starts with a more simple case from Cicero's *Verrines*, which leads to some clarifications on the technical aspect of falsifying a document in Antiquity. After a short look at some special features in the Christian discourse of authority, the falsification affair itself is reconstructed, in which the term *dominicus homo* from an 'Athanasian' text played a central role. On this basis, an identification of the *liber/libellus Athanasii* is presented by comparing the texts under Athana-

sius' name, which contain the term *dominicus homo*: The most probable candidate until now is the original Latin (pseudo-Athanasian!) text *De trinitate XI*. This text is then characterised as the work of a member of the Roman Luciferians, who were enemies of pope Damasus and against whom Jerome had written an *Altercatio*. The fact that Jerome could have been tricked by this forgery, can be explained by an affinity of his and the Luciferians' trinitarian understanding. In a balance of winners and losers of this affair Origen is identified as the unlucky fellow, while even Jerome kept his authority. Moreover, some insights into Rufinus' work *De adulteratione librorum Origenis*, which contains the story of the falsification affair, are offered. The article closes with some general theses drawn from the results.

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THE FORGERY
OF ISAAC CASAUBON'S NAME:
AUTHORITY AND *THE ORIGINAL*
OF IDOLATRIES

‘All belief with him’, Mark Pattison states in *Isaac Casaubon, 1559–1614*, ‘is a question of authority, and books. If a great author has said a thing, it is so’.¹ It is however unlikely that Casaubon really was as credulous as his biographer would later claim. In fact, much of Casaubon’s philological work examines whether a particular thing had actually been written by its alleged author and in some cases, such as Gregory’s third epistle, Casaubon was able to settle the debate about the text’s authorship and show that it was indeed authentic. In several other cases, he proved the opposite: in his edition of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (1603), for instance, Casaubon demonstrated that the alleged authorship of these works was a fabrication.²

In 1610 Casaubon was invited to move to England by King James I, who expected that Casaubon’s authority as the greatest living Protestant scholar – Joseph Scaliger had died the year before – would be a valuable asset to the Anglican Church. Casaubon gladly accepted. After the assassination of his patron Henri IV, his position as a prominent Protestant scholar in France would have been more difficult than ever and, perhaps more importantly, Casaubon had felt increasingly drawn to the Anglican Church.³ Also, a move to England would allow him to pursue projects he had long dreamed of, such as writing an attack on Cardinal Cesare Baronio’s *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607). A year before his death in 1615, Casaubon achieved this ambition

¹ Pattison 1892, p. 442.

² Grafton 1991, p. 147.

³ Hamilton 1985, p. 33.

with the publication of *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI*, but this shift to Anglican polemics did not mean that his forgery hunting days were over – as part of his refutation of Baronio, Casaubon unmasked Hermes Trismegistus and exposed the *Corpus Hermeticum* as a forgery.⁴

It is therefore not without a certain irony that shortly after his death in 1615, Casaubon himself would become the object of textual deception. *The Originall of Idolatries* was published posthumously under Casaubon's name in London in 1624, but the work was soon found to have been deliberately misattributed to Casaubon by its translator, Abraham Darcie. James I quickly dealt with the deception, and with ruthless efficiency. Darcie and his accomplice, publisher Nathaniel Butter, were arrested immediately and the remaining books confiscated. At the king's request, Casaubon's son Meric published *The Vindication or Defense of Isaac Casaubon*, in which he proved beyond doubt that *The Originall* was a fraud and Darcie yet another forger in a very long tradition. 'Every one of the worst and vilest Heretics', Meric Casaubon wrote, 'were wont to use this craft long ago, to mask under other men's names of esteem and authority'.⁵

The Originall of Idolatries has become a mere footnote to the afterlife of Isaac Casaubon and the case has generated little scholarly interest. The reason for this seems obvious: thanks to James I's decisive action, the affair never amounted to much more than a breeze in an Anglican teacup and as such it is of little historical significance. Also, at first sight *The Originall* appears to be a rather dull pseudepigraphon, especially when compared to the imaginative and complex deceptions of great early modern forgers like Anniius of Viterbo and George Psalmanazar. However, Darcie's deception went far beyond simple misattribution: he took an obscure French pamphlet, transformed it through translation and then used his authority as an established translator of French protestant religious treaties to make the work look like an authentic translation of an authentic text.

The question remains why such an unimaginative deception could have caused James I to respond with such force and urgency.

⁴ Grafton 1991, pp. 145–61.

⁵ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 4.

The answer to this lies in the concept of authority and it is in this context that the case of *The Originall* merits a closer look. Not only will this shed greater light on what constituted Casaubon's authority in 1624, but it will also show that the use and abuse of this authority were far more complex processes than Meric Casaubon's description of forgery suggests. Forgeries, even one as simple as *The Originall*, engage with specific social and political circumstances as well as a wide network of texts and they involve many different practices – on the forger's side as well as that of the reader. Tracing the history of *The Originall* from the foundations laid by Darcie's earlier works to the affair's aftermath shows how several of these texts – by Casaubon and others – and practices, including translation, dedication, plagiarism and critical reading, all played a crucial part in the affair and were, in their own way, all closely related to authority.

This of course includes Isaac Casaubon's *auctoritas*, but as the case of *The Originall* shows, this is by no means the only kind of authority involved in forgery. Forgery has five distinct stages: creation, presentation, reception and – unless the forgery is successful – exposure and aftermath. All these stages involve different kinds of authority that are closely connected and affect one another in many different ways. The affair of *The Originall* illustrates the complexity of these dynamics beautifully, involving Casaubon's authority as well as that of James I, Meric Casaubon and Abraham Darcie.

In order to understand the nature of Darcie's authority and the role it would play in his forgery, it is necessary to first take a closer look at Darcie's life and the works he wrote and translated before *The Originall*. Thanks to a portrait made by the London-based Flemish artist Francis Delaram [figure 1] during the aftermath of the affair, we know what Darcie looked like, but very little is known about his life and background. Also, as Meric Casaubon would demonstrate, there is very good reason to distrust what is known. According to Darcie's own accounts of his life, he had been born and raised in Geneva and it is likely that he made his way to England around 1620.⁶

⁶ Darcie made this claim twice, in the Delaram portrait and on the title page of *Theatre de la Gloire et Noblesse d'Albion* (1626), in which he identified himself as a 'Citoyen de la Republique de Geneve (filz puisné d'Honorable Pierre

Darcie's first book, *The Honour of Ladies*, was published in 1622. This short treatise was to some extent part of a textual genre that had become particularly popular in England in the late sixteenth century, the celebration of the achievements and virtues of well-known women. Like Christopher Newstead's *An Apology for Women* (1620), the work's use of sources is often incorrect and at times highly suspect, but compared to other works in the genre, *The Honour of Ladies* is marked by a surprisingly progressive view of women and their abilities, particularly in the context of learning and politics.⁷ It is not known how successful *The Honour of Ladies* was, but soon after its publication Darcie changed his game and moved on the translation of French theological works.

Darcie's first effort in this field was *A Preparation to Suffer for the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (1623), a translation of a pamphlet by the French Huguenot theologian and philosopher Pierre Du Moulin. Fuelled by the Arminian controversy and the Palatine conflict, Du Moulin's staunch Calvinism had become quite popular in England and translations of his work sold well. Many of these were published by the Puritan printer Nathaniel Newbery, but other publishers too were keen to cash in on Du Moulin's popularity and would even stoop to dishonesty in order to get their hands on new works by him. On 1 June 1621 Matthew Lownes entered a book 'called *A Letter unto Them of the Roman Church* by Peter Moulin' in the Register of the Stationers' Company. The entry was later crossed out, with the remark that 'this letter belongeth to Master Newbery being a preface to his *Buckler of Faith*', one of Newbery's most popular Du Moulin titles.

Darcie's translation was entered in the register on 18 July 1623, when England was firmly in the throes of the Spanish Match. In February, Prince Charles and George Villiers, the Duke of

DV D'arcie, en son vivant Citoyen Procureur & Auditeur du droit et Sommaire Justice de la dite Repu:)'.

⁷ Gushee O'Malley 2004, p. 167. Gushee O'Malley observes that Christopher Newstead's *Apology* used the range of classical and contemporary sources an Oxford undergraduate would have been familiar with in 1619 but it is marked by erratic and incorrect quotation. Gushee O'Malley does not mention *The Honour of Ladies*, but the same use and abuse of sources is found in Darcie's treatise – like Newstead, Darcie was an educated man, but by no means a scholar.

Buckingham, had travelled to Spain to negotiate Charles' marriage to the Infanta Maria Anna and by July the crisis caused by the prospect of the match was beginning to reach boiling point. Many English Protestants, Calvinists and Puritans in particular, feared the political and religious implications of a marriage between the heir to the English throne and future head of the Church of England, and a Roman Catholic princess from a hostile nation. In addition, they resented that the marriage negotiations prevented England from supporting Frederick V, the Elector Palatine and James' Calvinist son-in-law, in his struggle against the Habsburg Empire. The timing of the publication of *A Preparation* was therefore impeccable, offering a fresh title by Du Moulin that could strengthen the arguments against the match with Du Moulin's authority and provide Protestant readers with 'comfort and consolation for these present times'.⁸

What sets Darcie's translation apart from all the other English editions of Du Moulin's work published in the early 1620s, is its elaborate dedication. The entire first page is taken up by Darcie's tribute to ten of England's most prominent courtiers, including Ludovick Stuart, the Duke of Lennox and Richmond, and William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, and the next four pages sing the noble virtues of these men, 'applauded by those who know your names', even louder.⁹ The practice of dedicating translations was in itself not uncommon and very much connected with the concept of authority, in terms of the dedicatee as well as the dedicating. By the early 1620s, it had become increasingly common to include the translator's name on the title page, especially in the case of theological texts, and for translators to add brief introductions in which they reflected on their translation methods and why they felt the work had been worth translating for an English audience. Translators were increasingly regarded as authorities in their own right: a number of entries in the Stationers' Register from this period state that the translation of a particular publication would be put on hold until a translator with 'sufficient authority' was found.¹⁰

⁸ Du Moulin 1623, *A Preparation*, p. 3.

⁹ Du Moulin 1623, *A Preparation*, p. A2.

¹⁰ Bennett 1970, p. 75.

Although translations would usually include the authors' original dedications, their newfound authority gave translators enough ownership of the text to dedicate publications to patrons of their own. Dedication is a two-way street and the translators' dedications were no exception to this rule. The dedication would add to the status of the dedicatee but, in turn, his or her name would also add authority to the book in question. Darcie understood these dynamics perfectly. *The Honour of Ladies*, for instance, was dedicated to Edward de Vere's three daughters and Lady Ann Herbert, who were all extremely well educated and politically powerful – Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Derby, was formally the Lord of Man and the first woman to rule the island as head of state. Their patronage lent authority to the book's extensive descriptions of female political and scholarly achievements and in return their own authority was emphasized and reinforced by associating their names with those of the women – ranging from Polla Argentaria to Elizabeth I – described in the book.

In this light, Darcie's dedication of *A Preparation* seems somewhat puzzling. As Michael Brennan notes, dedicating the book to William Herbert made perfect sense as Herbert's anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish sentiments were public knowledge.¹¹ Ludovick Stuart however was known to have Catholic leanings and supported the Spanish Match. The oddness of dedicating a book to Stuart that opposed his views and sympathies can be explained by the fact that James I had long held the Huguenots in great esteem and particularly appreciated the loyalty the Huguenot community in England had shown him. This loyalty had partly been a pragmatic exercise in maintaining the necessary support for a refugee community, but also the result of the introduction of the concept of predestination in the Huguenot perception of monarchy.¹² Pierre du Moulin was not only an enthusiastic supporter of the English monarchy, he had also met James I and Prince Charles on several occasions and was indeed very proud of his personal connection with both and the favours they had bestowed on him. Du Moulin had in fact dedicated *The Buckler*

¹¹ Brennan 1988, p. 174.

¹² Cottret 1991, p. 86.

of the Faith, first published by Newbery in 1620, to Prince Charles, 'humbly beseeching your Highness that as I have made it for the defence of that cause which your Highness maintaineth; so it may be upheld by your Princely authoritie'.¹³

The Buckler continued to be published throughout the 1620s and in the second edition, which was published at the height of the Spanish Match crisis, the dedication remained unchanged, despite the fact that the work's vehemently anti-Catholic contents were distinctly at odds with the dedicatee's nuptial intentions. Darcie knew *The Buckler* very well and must have thought that if Du Moulin could continue to dedicate such a work to Prince Charles, there could be no objection to including Ludovick Stuart in the dedication of *A Preparation*. This turned out to be correct, in the sense that the dedication appears to have resulted in the patronage Darcie had been hoping for. After Stuart's death in February 1624, the servant section in the official proceedings of his funeral included a 'Mr Abraham Darcie' and Darcie wrote several funeral poems, some of which were published, for Ludovick's grieving wife, Lady Frances Howard.¹⁴

A Preparation was quickly followed by a second Du Moulin translation, *Heraclitus or Meditations upon the Misery of Mankind* (1624), which was marked by its translator's shameless self-assertion. Darcie's name is featured more prominently on the title page than Du Moulin's and he added two acrostic poems at the end of the book, the first of which is an ode to Du Moulin, the second is about Darcie himself. Darcie also replaced Du Moulin's original dedication to Anne de Rohan with his own, in which he states that Du Moulin's book is new to England and that its 'exquisite worth had moved me to translate it'. However, both statements are lies – Darcie knew very well that

¹³ Du Moulin, *The Buckler*, 1623, p. 2. Du Moulin's attachment to James I was a source of embarrassment to Newbery. The publisher made several attempts, for instance in his dedication to *The Anatomy of Arminianisme* (1620), to present Du Moulin as more radical and controversial than he really was in order to make him more appealing to a Puritan readership. In the case of *The Buckler* this was impossible as the version Du Moulin had authorized included his dedication to Prince Charles.

¹⁴ A. Darcie, *A Monumentall Pyramide to ... the Ever-Living Memory and Perpetuall Honour of the All-Virtuous and Ever-Glorious Prince, Ludovick, Late Duke of Richmond and Lenox*, 1624.

the book was not at all new to England and, more importantly, Darcie had not translated it.

Darcie's translation was plagiarized from *Heraclitus or Meditations upon the Vanity and Misery of Human Life*, a translation by an anonymous translator, only known as 'R. S. Gentleman', that had been published in a limited edition in 1609.¹⁵ Although Thomas Pavier, the book's new publisher, had bought the rights to the 1609 edition in 1619, Darcie and Pavier made every attempt to conceal the relationship between the two texts. Darcie changed the title of the translation, removed the translator's dedication and divided the text into chapters. He also rewrote the first page of R. S.'s translation, being careful to make his text as different as possible. For instance, R. S.'s correct translation of Du Moulin's 'cent mille' in the first sentence of the work, is reduced to a mere 'thousand' in Darcie's text. All of this helped to hide the fact that from the phrase 'that which wee gaine by theft' on the second page of Darcie's translation, nearly all of the next 160 pages are identical to the 1609 translation.

The concept, practice and prosecution of plagiarism are murky subjects in the context of early modern England, especially where they concern translation. It is not known whether deception was ever discovered and it is difficult to tell if such a discovery would have caused much of a stir.¹⁶ But before the year was out, Pavier

¹⁵ The title page of *Heraclitus or Meditations upon the Vanity and Misery of Human Life* (1609) only states the translator's initials: 'R. S. Gentleman'. The catalogue of the British Library identifies this R. S. as 'Richard Smyth, of Barnstaple', which seems to be based on the fact that the third edition of Smyth's *Munition Against Man's Misery* (1612) in the library's collection is bound with the second edition of the translation by 'R. S. Gentleman'. Both these editions were published by William Turner in 1634 and the authors do share the same initials, but there is no additional information that suggests that Richard Smyth might have been the R. S. who translated *Heraclite*. In fact, one of the two copies of the 1609 edition of *Heraclitus* at the British Library contains a small, handwritten note identifying the translator as Robert Stafford, the son of Sir Francis Stafford. A note in the same hand, pasted on the flyleaf, contains more information about Sir Stafford, who was the Governor of Ulster, and his family. The information in these notes exactly matches that given in R. S.'s dedication to his father, in terms of the dates and places mentioned, the family relationships and the references to the religious affiliations of R. S.'s family.

¹⁶ I discovered Darcie's plagiarism while comparing the various 17th-century English translations of *Heraclite* at the British Library and have found nothing to suggest that it has been detected before.

would publish a second edition of *Heraclitus or Meditations upon the Misery of Mankind*, with a slightly revised title: *The Teares of Heraclitus: or, The Misery of Mankind*. Darcie's name was removed from the title page, but he did write a new foreword for the edition, in which he very carefully avoided any reference to the first edition as well as any statement or suggestion that he was the work's translator or that the work had not been translated into English before. The translation however remained unchanged and still included the errors made by Darcie in the first few pages. The changes made by Pavier and Darcie in the second edition suggest not only that the plagiarism had not been exposed, but also that they were well aware that what they had done was wrong and should not be found out, especially not after the affair of *The Originall*.

In the early spring of 1624 however Abraham Darcie was by all standards a successful man. He had published two successful translations and the publication of his poems for Ludovick Stuart's funeral and the continued patronage of Lady Frances Howard had confirmed his new social standing. He was also engaged in a number of new ventures, including a translation of the first part of William Camden's *Annales Rerum Gestarum Angliae et Hiberniae Regnate Elizabetha* (1615), which was entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company under the authority of George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, on 20 March 1624.¹⁷ Darcie had also recently started working with Nathaniel Butter, a particularly enterprising publisher with a somewhat chequered past. Butter had been involved in the pirating of playtexts and he had spent time in prison in 1622 for publishing a seditious Puritan pamphlet.¹⁸ However, unlike Newbery, Butter was not a Puritan and simply published whatever might sell.

The market for fresh Protestant writings had not ceased after the official end of the Spanish Match crisis on 5 October 1623, when Prince Charles returned a single man. Spain had set its

¹⁷ According to the entry on 20 March 1624, Benjamin Fisher 'entered for his Copie under the hands of the Duke of Buckingham and master Cole warden "The True Histroy of Queene Elizabeth's Reign" to be translated according to the French original and published in English by Abraham Darcye'.

¹⁸ This pamphlet was called *A Plain Demonstration of the Unlawful Succession of Ferdinand II, Because of the Incestuous Marriage of His Parents*.

demands too high, the negotiations had gone on for too long and Charles had decided to abandon the match altogether. Heavily disappointed by the failure of the match and encouraged by Charles, who was now more popular than ever with the English people, James I announced plans to take Spain to war. As a result, anti-Catholic feelings ran higher than ever before and publishers could not find enough fresh writings by Protestant authorities to fuel the scorned nation's fury. The first law of forgery is that where there is a need, forgeries appear, and Abraham Darcie moved on, right on cue, from plagiarism to forgery. To some extent, forgery and plagiarism are two sides of the same coin, but whereas the plagiarizer steals another author's text and publishes it under his own name, the forger creates a text and then attributes it to another author. And this is exactly what happened in the case of *The Originall*: Darcie took an obscure 16th-century anonymous French pamphlet, transformed it through translation and then presented it under Isaac Casaubon's name.

The name of the real author of *The Originall* has never been discovered, but after the deception was exposed, James I's agents managed to find out that it had been published in 1556, three years before Casaubon was born.¹⁹ The mission of the book is very straightforward: it describes the origins of the Mass and other forms of idolatry, for which, as the author writes in his epistle to the reader, 'the world is in Cruell Divisions, Hatred, and lamentable Civil Warres'.²⁰ In Darcie's edition this project takes up 108 pages, starting with a discussion of sacred signs and rituals and how these have been corrupted throughout history. After several extensive and sometimes rather curious elaborations on Numa Pompilius and Islamic rituals, the book concludes with a fierce condemnation of the various elements of the Mass and the concept of Transubstantiation. In his epistle, the author states that his discussions will mainly be based on 'the volumes of Elasopolitan's Commentaries', but the work draws from a wide range of sources, from Augustine to Franciscus Titelmans.²¹

¹⁹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 74.

²⁰ Casaubon 1624, p. A2.

²¹ Casaubon 1624, p. A2.

The first question that must be addressed is why Darcie chose Casaubon's name for the deception. It is obvious why he could not present the pamphlet as yet another Du Moulin translation: if he had done so, Du Moulin, who actually spent part of 1624 in England, and Newbery would have protested immediately. Isaac Casaubon however had been dead for nine years and was hardly likely to expose the deception from the grave. There were however other reasons why Casaubon was an attractive choice, the first of which is that in some ways the book seems – at first sight – to be in line with Casaubon's work: in *The Vindication* Meric admits that the theme and argument of *The Originall* are 'not altogether unlike those works of his, that he had partly published already, and partly undertaken to write'.²²

In addition, and probably of greater importance to Darcie, there was the fact that Casaubon was still revered as one of the greatest scholars of the period and his name, as Darcie points out again and again in the book's paratexts, was still laden with authority. The words that commemorate Casaubon at his final resting place in Westminster Abbey, for example, illustrate this perception beautifully:

Qui nosse vult *Casaubonum*
Non saxa sed chartas legat
Superfuturas Marmor
Et profuturas posteris.²³

Moreover, despite his authority, only a couple of Casaubon's texts had been published in English. In 1612, John Norton had published an English translation of Casaubon's reply to a letter of Cardinal Du Perron, and a short letter to James Martin appeared in print in 1615, in the original Latin and an English translation, in *Via Regia. The Kings Way to Heaven* [...] *With a Letter of that Late Miracle of Learning, Mr Is. Casaubon*. With English works by Casaubon being so scarce, a whole book by Casaubon

²² M. Casaubon 1624, p. 2.

²³ The poem on the monument, donated to Westminster Abbey in 1632, was written by Thomas Goad and Westminster Abbey's official translation of its final lines are as follows: 'He that would know Casaubon, let him not read this, but *his* books, more useful to Posterity, and which remain when vain Marbles moulder away'.

– and one that so well responded to the political climate of the period too – would be a valuable commodity indeed.

The Originall was published in late April or early May 1624 and like Darcie's edition of *Heraclitus*, the book is marked by its translator's exuberant self-assertion – Darcie's name features more prominently on the title page than Casaubon's – and an abundance of paratexts. The first eight pages are taken up by Darcie's dedications, in purple prose and even more flattering verse, to Prince Charles and, on a separate page, to George Villiers and the other noblemen who had accompanied Charles to Spain. Darcie also added an epistle to his reader as well as 'To my Noble and most Learned Author, On his Worthy Name', an acrostic ode to Casaubon:

In the Circumference of all *Natures* frame,
 So honor'd is (learn'd *Casaubon*) thy name,
 As so much need my encomiasticke lines,
 As a small Taper when that *Phæbus* shines
 Cleare at noone day:
 Can this so litterate *Age* afford a brest,
 A Closet where such profound wit doth rest,
 Such abstruce learning, these he did combine
 A Peerlesse *Gracian*, and unmatched *Divine*;
 Under the wounds of his *Polemicke* pen
 Bled the Idolatrous Whore: Rarest of men,
 Over all Nations flies thy far-spred *Name*,
 No *angle* but refounds thy datelesse fame.²⁴

The emphasis on the relationship between Casaubon's name and authority in the poem is striking, but how did Darcie actually attempt to persuade *The Originall*'s readers of Casaubon's authorship? It would have been easy for him to slip a couple of references to Casaubon and his works into his translation of the author's epistle and the text, but it appears he did no such thing. Nor did he present any invented evidence for Casaubon's authorship in his paratexts – he does not give the original title of the work, nor does he mention when and where it was allegedly first published.²⁵ The title page simply states that the

²⁴ Casaubon 1624, p. 108.

²⁵ Meric would later mention in *The Vindication* that Darcie had stated that

work is by 'that famous and learned Isaac Casaubon' and Darcie repeats this claim only twice in the paratexts. The first instance is found in Darcie's gratulatory epistle to Prince Charles, where he states that 'learned Casaubon hath made a diligent search and Inquisition of their Owne Registers and Records' and hints at Casaubon's well-known interest in the Early Church.²⁶ The second instance is found at the very end of the book, in the title of Darcie's ode to Casaubon.

Darcie's main strategy in persuading the book's readers of Casaubon's authorship lies in the authority of others. The title page of *The Originall* states that the book was printed 'by Authority, for Nathaniel Butter', meaning that it had been checked, approved and licensed by the offices of the Bishop of London. The name of Nathaniel Butter also provided authority, in the sense that Butter, despite his colourful past, had built a respectable reputation for himself in publishing Protestant theology, including the work of the more moderately Calvinist theologian and satirist Joseph Hall. Hall himself also seems to have advocated the authenticity of Casaubon's authorship – after the exposure of the deception the religious controversialist Richard Montagu wrote his friend John Cosin, the Bishop of Durham: 'Jos. Hall to commend this! Were it *res mei juris*, he should loose all promotions he hath for it'.²⁷

Yet another kind of authority is found in Darcie's dedications to Prince Charles. Although more elaborate, these were very like the dedications of Darcie's other works, which in itself lent the deception verisimilitude, and appear – at first sight – to aim for the same dynamics between book and patron. Darcie's dedicatory epistle to Charles refers explicitly to 5 October 1623, 'that blest Sunday whereon your Highness landed', and the dedications make it very clear that Casaubon's anti-Catholic arguments are offered to provide authority for Charles' decision to abandon the Spanish Match.²⁸ In return, the dedication provided the book

the French edition of *The Originall* had been published in 1607, but I have not been able to trace this assertion.

²⁶ Casaubon 1624, p. A.

²⁷ Cosin 1869, p. 32.

²⁸ Casaubon 1624, p. A3.

with royal authority, Darcie – hopefully – with royal preferment and the forgery with credibility. As Meric Casaubon would write in his own dedication to Prince Charles in *The Vindication*: ‘that this masked pamphlet should pass through all men’s hands under your Highness’ Authority: such being the impudence of this imposter that he durst venture to inscribe it to your Highness’ patronage to better to deceive the world’.²⁹

However, the main key to the success of the deception of *The Originall* was to be Darcie himself. As discussed earlier, authority had become an increasingly important concept in the practice of translation. The translator’s name on the title page was intended to inspire trust in the general reader and signify that the translator was able to properly assess and translate a particular text. With two Du Moulin titles under his belt, Darcie had built up a name and a certain level of authority in the field of the translation of French Protestant works that would help to make *The Originall* seem authentic to his English readership. But there is more to Darcie’s position as a translator, in the sense that the position of the translator has traditionally provided aspiring forgers with an extremely useful relationship with their fabrications. If they, like Darcie, want to assert themselves in association with their forged text, it is crucial for them to remain close to it without arousing the suspicion that they are in fact the text’s source. The position of the translator fits this idea beautifully and as long as the translator takes care not to overstep his secondary *auctoritas* – the name of Curzio Inghirami comes to mind – the deception can go a long way.

Nevertheless, Darcie must have been aware that he was taking a risk, especially as the forgery of Casaubon’s name had a well-known precedent. In 1615, a year after Casaubon’s death, a pamphlet called *Corona Regia* had been published under his name. Although some effort had been made to make the book appear authentic, including the forging of the royal printer’s mark, even the most uninformed reader would very quickly have realized what the pamphlet really was: a sometimes witty but often particularly nasty Roman Catholic satire on the English court.

²⁹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A6–7.

Corona Regia presents Casaubon as a pompous scholar-turned-jester, eager to act as the dummy to James I's ventriloquist. This representation and the fraudulent authorship itself can be seen as references to the widespread notion that after 1610 Casaubon had essentially been a mouthpiece for James I. Although Meric would later point out that the reply to Du Perron had been very much his father's 'sense and meaning', great emphasis was placed, also by Protestant readers, that the letter had really been written by James I.³⁰ The anonymous translator of the Dutch edition, published in 1612, wrote: 'Want alhoewel se den titel voert van Isaaci Casauboni Antwoort, nochtans sal het voor de ghene, diese maar begint te lesen, seer haest blijcken, dattet met der daet den Antwoort is van den alderdoorluchtichsten Coninck Iacobus'.³¹

Corona Regia is merciless in its portrayal of Casaubon, but its real venom is reserved for James I, particularly in its references to the king's homosexual relationships. James' bisexuality was a fairly open secret at the English court, but the last thing James I wanted was to have it in print and sniggered over by Roman Catholics across Europe.³² Even worse, James' former favourite Robert Carr and his wife Frances Howard, the namesake and distant cousin of Darcie's future patroness, were about to be tried for murder and there was a definite danger that *Corona Regia* might be mentioned in connection to the trial. James was furious and ordered that the author of 'this book against Casaubon' should be hunted down and once found, meet with 'exemplary punishment'.³³ The hunt, led by the Brussels-based envoy William Trumbull, soon became known in the Republic of Letters for its extremely vicious and violent character and as far as most people knew, it was still going strong in 1624.

However, the fate of *The Originall* and Abraham Darcie could not have been more different than that of the *Corona Regia* and

³⁰ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 17.

³¹ *Antwoort Isaaci Casauboni, Op den Brief vanden seer Door-luchtighe ende Eerwaerdighen Cardinael Perronius*, p. A2. 'For even though it is entitled Isaac Casaubon's Reply, it will soon become clear to anyone who starts reading it, that this is actually the reply of the most illustrious King James'. [my translation].

³² Stewart 2003, pp. 279–81.

³³ See W. Schleiner's introduction to *Corona Regia* 2010, pp. 7–24.

its elusive author. In his preparations for the forgery, Darcie had failed to take two things into account. The first was his utter inability to assess the quality of the scholarship of *The Originall*, the second was Casaubon's twenty-four year old son, Meric Casaubon. As a child, Meric had shown a great aptitude for learning and had spent much time working with his father. When it became clear in 1614 that Casaubon's illness was serious, James I promised to provide for the future of the young scholar and on 5 August 1614, Meric was admitted to Christ Church in Oxford on a scholarship that he would hold for thirteen years.³⁴ As Meric knew his father's work intimately, he was able to compare *The Originall's* scholarship to Casaubon's genuine works and this would prove to be the deception's downfall.

Somehow Meric managed to read the *The Originall* almost immediately after it was published and wrote a furious letter to James I in which he argued that the work was a forgery, 'full of impertinent allegations out of obscure and late authors, whom his father never thought worthy the reading, much less the using their authority'.³⁵ James certainly lost no time exercising his authority when he received the news: all unsold copies of *The Originall* were confiscated and Darcie and Butter were at once arrested, interrogated and sent to prison. In *The Church History of Britain* (1655), Thomas Fuller adds that George Montaigne, the Bishop of London, did not escape the king's wrath either and 'had much ado to make his chaplain's peace for the licensing thereof'.³⁶ But why did James act so quickly? *The Originall* is a very different creature from the *Corona Regia*: there is nothing salacious about the work nor is it in any way antagonistic towards James I's court and Isaac Casaubon – on the contrary. However, despite all its Royal flattery and Darcie's ostentatious admiration for Casaubon, *The Originall* did have several major issues and all of these were potentially extremely harmful to Casaubon's authority and that of James I.

The first of these is found in the book's theological stance. *The Originall* is a staunchly Calvinist work, and although it is

³⁴ Pattison 1892, p. 418.

³⁵ Fuller 1837, p. 324.

³⁶ Fuller 1837, p. 324.

true that Casaubon's youth had been steeped in the stern teachings of Geneva Calvinism, the book by no means reflects his later religious beliefs. After his first years in Paris Casaubon became strongly influenced by his readings of the church fathers and had gradually felt himself drawn towards the Anglican Church, which was not only less dogmatic, but also embraced the Early Church as a foundation for its doctrine and rituals. After his move to England, James I's patronage had enabled Casaubon to express these views freely and he would defend the Anglican *via media* against the harsh orthodoxy of Calvinism as well as attacks by Roman Catholic writers like Cardinal du Perron. *The Originall* however is fiercely anti-Catholic in a manner that is very unlike the approach and tone of Casaubon's work. In his description of the reception of Casaubon's refutation of Baronio, Pattison writes that many 'wished that Casaubon had handled Baronius a little more roughly' and that the Puritans in particular 'had wished to see Baronius well abused, and charged with disaffection the man who would not stoop to do it'.³⁷

However, the author of *The Originall* stooped with relish and did not stop at insulting the Catholic Church. He also attacked, with equal gusto, the Early Church that was so dear to Casaubon's heart and the very foundation of the Anglican Church's identity and practices. If *The Originall* had been accepted as authentic, it would have provided the Puritans, whom James I abhorred, with a text by Casaubon – in the vernacular – to lend authority to their beliefs, attitudes and causes. The authority of this sternly Calvinist Casaubon would not just be a useful weapon for the Puritans, but also to the Catholic Church. 'Whom this Darcie is I cannot tell', Richard Montagu wrote after the exposure of *The Originall*, 'I supposed him a masked Puritan. [...] This [*sic*] riff-raff rascals make us lyable to the lash unto our other adversaries of the Church of Rome, who impute the frantick fits and froth of every Puritan paroxysme to the received doctrine of our Church'.³⁸

³⁷ Pattison 1892, pp. 338–39.

³⁸ Cosin 1896, p. 32. It must be noted that Montagu had a personal stake in affair of *The Originall* as it coincided with the controversy caused by his own *A New Gag for an Old Goose* (1624), a pamphlet in which Montagu stressed that

The Originall also posed another and very immediate political threat. As mentioned before, Darcie places great emphasis on Prince Charles' abandonment of the Spanish Match and offers Pseudo-Casaubon's text as an authority for that decision. However, what Darcie probably did not know was that James I had already set his sights on another prospective Catholic daughter-in-law, Princess Henrietta Maria of France. Henrietta Maria's father King Henri IV had been Casaubon's patron, despite the fact that Casaubon was a Protestant. Henri IV had reconverted to Catholicism to succeed to the throne ('Paris vaut bien une messe') but Casaubon was less pragmatic and, in spite of great pressure, refused to convert too. Casaubon's relationship with the French court was a constant balancing act in which he was well aware of the limitations of his freedom of religious expression. If it now turned out that Casaubon had secretly published a book attacking the Catholic Church while under the patronage of Henri IV, this would almost certainly have embarrassed the devoutly Catholic Henrietta Marie and have frustrated what were already promising to be difficult negotiations.

There can be little doubt that the *Corona Regia* also played a part in James' decision to act quickly in the case of *The Originall*. In November 1623, William Trumbull had informed James that he had finally found the main author behind the *Corona Regia*: a Leuven student named Cornelius Breda.³⁹ However, as Breda had died on a Bohemian battlefield in 1620, it was too late to carry out the threat of exemplary punishment and the notion

the Anglican Church was not Calvinist and in fact shared many of its elements with the Catholic Church. The last thing Montagu needed in this controversy, and the wider debate about predestination and Arminianism, was for Calvinists and Puritans to be able to wave *The Originall* in his face and claim Casaubon's authority for their views.

³⁹ The question of the authorship of *Corona Regia* has never been fully settled, although it is now generally agreed that Caspar Schoppe had nothing to do with the book. As Winfried Schleiner argues in his introduction to *Corona Regia*, Trumbull seems to have been fully aware that the work's authorship was a very complex affair. Realizing that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to bring the case to a satisfactory conclusion, Trumbull may have thought that accepting a dead man as the main culprit would be the most efficient way to end a hunt he himself had begun to detest. For a detailed account of the authorship of *Corona Regia*, also see Tournoy 2000.

that the main author had been a mere student only added to the King's embarrassment. The name of the Catholic author Caspar Schoppe, who had been the obvious suspect, was allowed to quietly linger on – with the result that even Pattison would later still identify Schoppe as the author of *Corona Regia* in his biography of Casaubon. The fact that now a second spurious work had been published under Casaubon's name presented yet another reason for James I to nip the affair of *The Originall* in the bud.

However, the largest issue with *The Originall* was the book's poor scholarship. After reading the book, Richard Montagu, who knew Casaubon's work extremely well – Casaubon had once accused him of plagiarizing his work on Baronio – wrote to John Cosin: 'Casaubon the author of such bald stuff! *Credat Judaeus Apella*. Though his mind had been that way twenty years since when he was chin-deep in Lacu Lemanno, yet his learning could not disgorge such dorbellismes'.⁴⁰ Based on the name of the fifteenth-century philosopher Nicolas d'Orbellis, 'dorbellism' is an early modern word for nonsensical scholarship and indeed a particularly apt description of *The Originall*. A book that confidently claims that Muslims were so enamoured of the Christian Mass that they named the city of Mecca after it seems very far removed from Casaubon's work. Casaubon had been very much interested in Arabic and although he never managed to master the language at the level achieved by friends like Joseph Scaliger, Thomas Erpenius and William Bedwell, it is highly unlikely that he would have made such a curious mistake.

In *Casaubon*, Pattison argues that Casaubon's move to England had forced him to relinquish his scholarship and quotes Hugo Grotius to explain his point: 'theologians are there the reigning authorities'.⁴¹ Casaubon's letters clearly show that he indeed felt that 'his old studies had entirely ceased', but it remains to be seen whether this was completely true.⁴² Theologians may have been the reigning authorities in England, but Casaubon's authority as an Anglican apologist was firmly based on his scholarly authority. Moreover, as Pattison himself points out repeat-

⁴⁰ Cosin 1896, p. 22.

⁴¹ Pattison 1892, p. 287.

⁴² Pattison 1892, p. 287.

edly, Casaubon's approach to ecclesiastical warfare was that of the scholar – when he went after Baronio, he did so with the tools, arguments and methods provided by philology.

Rather than attacking the Roman Catholic doctrine in Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici* directly, Casaubon's refutation focused primarily on Baronio's scholarship. By demonstrating the many errors in the work – including Baronio's assumption that the *Corpus Hermeticum* had been written by Hermes Trismegistus – Casaubon demolished Baronio's authority, and with this the doctrinal authority of his work. If *The Originall* had been accepted as authentic, it would have rendered Casaubon's authority vulnerable in much the same way as Baronio's had been. Its dorbellisms would have laid Casaubon open to attack and have damaged the perception of Casaubon's general credibility as a scholar and as a defender of the Anglican Church. This also placed James I in a very awkward position. As observed earlier, the relationship between author and patron is supposed to be mutually beneficial in terms of authority – the one reinforces the other and vice versa. The association with James I and the Anglican Church added to Casaubon's authority and Casaubon, in turn, added to theirs. The problem however is that once established, such relationships are not just mutually beneficial, but also mutually dependent: if one authority is damaged, the other suffers as well.

In all, *The Originall* posed a serious threat to the respective authorities of James I, the Anglican Church and Isaac Casaubon and it was necessary for James I to act as quickly and efficiently as possible. However, the forgery had been on the market for several weeks and, as Meric remarks in a possible sneer at the book's Puritan readership, had been 'snatched up so fast by the unlearned multitude, and is now by their rash judgement so much commended and approved'.⁴³ Also, as the correspondence between Cosin and Montagu shows, *The Originall* was becoming a subject for debate among the Republic of Letters and there was a distinct risk that surviving copies would find their way to the continent and pique hostile interest there. James I decided that more was needed and

⁴³ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 9.

instructed Meric to turn his original letter into a pamphlet that would vindicate Casaubon once and for all.

The Vindication or Defence of Isaac Casaubon against Those Imposters that Lately Published an Impious and Unlearned Pamphlet, Intituled 'The Originall of Idolatries', etc. Under His Name, to give the pamphlet's full title, was published in English, Latin and French in the late spring of 1624, at the express command and considerable expense of James I. The book certainly lives up to its title, in the sense that it makes it abundantly clear that Casaubon could not have written *The Originall*. However, there is much more to *The Vindication* than this, for the book also discusses, albeit briefly, the general relationship between authority and forgery and addresses the different kinds of authority involved in the affair of *The Originall*.

The first of these authorities is that of James I, to whom *The Vindication* is dedicated. Meric starts his dedication by complimenting the king, 'whose Learning and Love of purer religion are of equall eminencie', on acting so decisively against a forgery of which the basic premise is 'the defence of a good cause'.⁴⁴ By demolishing and prosecuting a forgery that – at first sight – is not against the Anglican Church – James I had increased his own authority and that of his church, 'For who can now doubt of the Truth of that doctrine, which must have nothing to defend it but the Arms of Truth itself?'⁴⁵

Although Meric does write about forgeries that are 'brought to maintaine a bad cause' and offend James, he never explicitly mentions the *Corona Regia*.⁴⁶ The book's presence is felt though, in the sense that James I's failure to arrest and prosecute its authors is implicitly compared to his successful handling of *The Originall*. Meric not only explicitly mentions that it was 'by your Royal Authority that the deceitful plotters were duly punished', but also, and not entirely truthfully, gives James I the credit for detecting the deception.⁴⁷ In this sense, the book not just vindicates Isaac Casaubon, but also celebrates James I's vic-

⁴⁴ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A3.

⁴⁵ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A3.

⁴⁶ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A3.

⁴⁷ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A2.

tory in the affair and thus seeks to restore the damage to James' reputation that was caused by his failure to bring the authors of the *Corona Regia* to justice.

The Vindication's second dedication is to Prince Charles and his authority too is vindicated. Meric acknowledges that Charles has been dragged into the affair by Darcie's dedication and immediately argues that there was no other reason for this than to use Charles' authority to 'deceive the world'. Charles, Meric continues, is 'without all question [...] so farre from patronizing such kind of men, that You detest as well their fraudulent dealing, as the impietie of the Booke itselfe'.⁴⁸ He therefore graciously presents *The Vindication* to Charles, so that 'such imposters may know how vainely the have sought for patronage of their forgeries from your Highnesse Authoritie, which they shall perceive You have bestowed upon the Defence of Truth'.⁴⁹

It is not known whether Meric was aware of Charles' plans to marry Princess Henrietta Maria and the effect *The Originall* could have had on the negotiations for the match. However, he does address the relationship between Henri IV and Casaubon explicitly, arguing that it would have been impossible for Casaubon to publish *The Originall* while under Henri's patronage. Henri IV, Meric writes, had refused Casaubon permission to write his refutation of Baronio and the publication of Casaubon's *De Ecclesiastica Libertate* was 'called in by the Kings authority' in 1607. 'Was it likely therefore that hee durst venture to set foorth such a virulent Booke as this, and one that was unjustly written against the Papists?'⁵⁰

The Vindication starts off with a short account of the publication of *The Originall*, followed by a brief general discussion of forgery and pseudepigrapha in general. It is an old practice, Meric argues, 'to maske under other mens names of esteem and authority' to pass off 'pernicious doctrines into them that little understood what they were, and seduce the simpler sort of people from the right way'.⁵¹ This 'simpler sort of people' accept doc-

⁴⁸ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A6.

⁴⁹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. B6.

⁵⁰ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 74.

⁵¹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 4.

trine simply on the basis of the authority of the name on the title page – if a great author has said a thing, to use Pattison's phrase, it is so – and are unable to distinguish between the forgery and the authentic works on which the authority is actually founded. Meric mentions Jerome and Vincent of Lerins as examples of authors who have fallen prey to this kind of forgery, but adds 'whether wee exemplifie this kinde of imposture by old or new times, I dare say, that there never was any bastard-booke fathered upon a man with more notable impudence and fraud, then this was upon Casaubon'.⁵²

Meric then quickly moves on to the possible motives behind the bastard book and considers whether it might have been a case of 'some skulking crafty Puritan trying to do the Church of England a mischief' or perhaps an attempt by someone with a private grudge against Casaubon who 'thought this way to wound his reputation'.⁵³ However, he notes that the motivation behind *The Originall* was probably nothing more than the combination of greed, stupidity and the idea that scholarly authority is a commodity that can be stolen and abused at will:

It is most likely that some unletter'd fellow, some sharking companion, lighting upon an old moth-eaten Pamphlet, which he thought to be some great treasure, and hard to come by; and ageing with a Sordid Bookseller to get it reprinted; thought it best to put some man's name of note before it, that so their gaines, which they gaped for, might come in the faster by the sale.⁵⁴

The investigation into *The Originall*, continues Meric, has proven that this was indeed the case and the next few pages of *The Vindication* are devoted to the impudence of Darcie – whom he never mentions by name, for reasons that would be revealed later – and the audacity of his dedications in particular. 'Is it not beyond all the degrees of impudence, that they should goe about to make Them Patrons and witnesses of their fraud, whom they should much rather have feared to be the Revengers & just Punishers

⁵² M. Casaubon 1624, p. 5.

⁵³ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 5.

⁵⁴ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 6.

of it? Lord!’⁵⁵ Punishment however was handed out and a large part of it consisted of the public humiliation of the forger, whom Meric says ‘is famous and known for nothing but villainy’.⁵⁶

Although the worst part of Darcie’s execution is yet to come, Meric then lets ‘pass this juggling knave’ and moves on to *The Originall* and its anonymous author. Darcie may have been responsible for the forgery but the trial that Meric is about to embark on has to deal with Pseudo-Casaubon for it is his work that is damaging Casaubon’s authority and the Anglican Church. ‘Whosoever hee was, is worthy to be punished for such a one, as being no lesser enemy to the Church of England, then hee is injurious to my Father’s good name’.⁵⁷ In the trial of Pseudo-Casaubon Meric will act as the prosecutor and *The Vindication*’s reader is asked to judge – you soon shall see, promises Meric, ‘it is such kinde of stuffe, as cannot have been my Fathers, without his great shame and infamie, being a Pamphlet full of such grosse ignorance, malignity, and most insolent desire of novitie in Religion’.⁵⁸

In order to demolish Pseudo-Casaubon and restore Casaubon’s authority, Meric will demonstrate that Casaubon could not have fathered ‘such a preposterous birth’ and he will do so by using his own unique authority, that of Casaubon’s son.⁵⁹ The fact that Meric was Casaubon’s son is repeated throughout *The Vindication*, from its title page (‘By Meric, his Sonne’) to his final argument (‘I have a catalogue by me of all the Books which my Father ever published, written with his owne hand ...’).⁶⁰ The notion that Meric was Casaubon’s son is juxtaposed throughout the text with references to *The Originall* as a bastard child. These, and the repeated use of ‘fatherhood’ as a metaphor for authorship, may be a reflection on the idea of the *auctor* as the originator of the text, but they also serve to emphasize the source of Meric’s authority – he was literally, and genuinely, fathered by Casaubon. The description of the father-son relationship between

⁵⁵ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 7.

⁵⁶ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 8.

⁵⁷ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 3.

⁵⁸ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 3.

⁵⁹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. A5.

⁶⁰ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 75.

Casaubon and Meric constantly implies proximity and intimacy and refers to the knowledge these two bring. Meric Casaubon knew his father's life and work as intimately as Casaubon knew the classical world and this knowledge gives him the authority to demolish the cuckoo's egg.

Meric identifies the book's religious doctrine and its poor scholarship as the *The Originall's* two main issues, but the fact that he often discusses them together, reflects his acknowledgment that the two are very much intertwined. He starts his discussion with doctrine, reminding the reader that many of the rituals attacked in *The Originall* are part of the Anglican Church and were in fact much loved by his father. Meric translates from the preface of *Ecclesiastical Exercitations*:

So settled by your Majesties Royal paines and care, as no Church this day under heaven nearer to the flourishing and face of the Ancient then yours, which hath taken the middle way between them that went astray on both hands by excesse or defect.⁶¹

He reminds the reader several times that to Casaubon no church came closer to the Early Church than the Anglican Church before quoting two entries in Casaubon's diary. These quotations, both translated by Meric, clearly show that Casaubon not only attended ('What a pleasure it was for me to behold it!') many of the ceremonies condemned by Pseudo-Casaubon but also approved of them ('O Lord Jesu, and turne the hearts of the Puritans, that deride such things as these') and even participated:

Thanks bee to thee, O Lord, that I was this day admitted unto the Holy Table, and was made partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Church of England, the Forme of which Administration, having read it over yesterday, I did highly approve and commend above that custome which others use.⁶²

Meric not only uses his knowledge of his father's life and works to demonstrate that he could not have written *The Originall*

⁶¹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 17.

⁶² M. Casaubon 1624, p. 19. See also p. 31.

but also Casaubon's methods. For nearly sixty pages, he chases Pseudo-Casaubon through the text of *The Originall* in much the same way his father hunted Hermes Trismegistus through the *Corpus Hermeticum* and points out a multitude of errors and oddities. The first of these concerns the difference between Casaubon's style of writing and that of Pseudo-Casaubon. 'For who cannot tell, with what great moderation and mildnesse Casaubon was ever wont to treat of Controversies in Religion? Insomuch that many preposterous Puritanes, out of their own ignorant and mad zeale, did blame him for it'.⁶³ The style of the true author of *The Originall* is, Meric writes, an entirely different matter, for 'not one could bee found for furie, and malice, and bitterness against his Adversaries, to bee compared with this Counterfeit-Casaubon'.⁶⁴

Meric points out a wealth of etymological blunders, including Pseudo-Casaubon's assertion that the name of Mecca was derived from the word Mass, and a number of historical mistakes in Pseudo-Casaubon's account of the development of the Mass.⁶⁵ 'For who was ever so mad to say, that Numa Pompilius celebrated Masse 700 yeeres before Christ was borne? And yet this scribbler affirms it in almost every page'.⁶⁶ Meric also notes that Pseudo-Casaubon based a number of his arguments on (possibly deliberate) translation errors. 'That which Blondus speakes of the Gentiles, *Dys superis sacra facturi, about to sacrifice unto the Gods*, this man turns, *who were about to say Mass*'.⁶⁷ Meric discusses several errors at length, but in most cases, such as the example of Flavio Biondo's phrase, only the briefest argument is needed to explain the mistake and make clear that Casaubon would never have made it.

Meric's main bone of discontent concerns the sources used in *The Originall*, especially the author's own *Ecclesiastical Commentaries* and the *Commentaries of Elasopolitanus*, both of which Pseudo-Casaubon quotes throughout. The first do not exist and the second, Meric implies, might well be a fabrication:

⁶³ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 20.

⁶⁴ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 21.

⁶⁵ M. Casaubon 1624, pp. 48–49.

⁶⁶ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 53.

⁶⁷ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 53. Meric Casaubon's italics.

In his Seventh Chapter, hee cites us his Ecclesiastical Commentaries, and *Pag.* 50 hee sends us unto them againe. Tis very well. Still have wee the advantage, & every where matter enough to detect the fraud of these Impostors. ... What these Commentaries of *Elasopolitan* are, I thinke no body yet ever knew, or is like to know, being at least so unknown and unheard of, as the very name of the man seemed strange and monstrous to all learned mens eares that I could meet withal.⁶⁸

As for the author's other sources, Meric points out that the author seems to have had 'no more knowledge in Antiquity then what he could get from Blondus and Alexander, and such other late writers'.⁶⁹ He applauds Pseudo-Casaubon for acknowledging them, but argues convincingly that his father would never have depended 'wholly on new writers, and neglect the old'.⁷⁰ Old writers, Meric implies, have greater authority as they have been tested more rigorously and their relative proximity to their subject adds to their credibility.

In his discussion of Pseudo-Casaubon's selection and use of sources, Meric always returns to the relationship between authority and reliability. The willingness to believe that 'if a great author has said a thing, it is so', depends on the reader's perception of that greatness and whether he or she is convinced that the great author in question really said it. The forger and the scholar must address these issues too. They both need to consider what exactly constitutes a particular authority and how it relates to a particular text, but whereas the scholar needs to prove the text's reliability, the forger's task is to feign it. Casaubon's scholarship considered these issues time and again and his reliable assessment of the reliability of the authorities he discussed formed an important part of his own authority. *The Originall's* use of obscure and late authors, 'whom his father never thought worthy the reading, much less the using their authority' was the very thing that first alarmed Meric about the book and it is indeed crucial. A scholar's authority, Meric implies again and again, depends on the authorities he uses, and if the reader cannot trust him to use reliable authorities, the scholar's authority suffers too.

⁶⁸ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 30.

⁶⁹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 41.

⁷⁰ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 41.

Although Meric claimed to have written the work in just a few days, *The Vindication* presents a wide range of persuasive, and often witty, arguments that make it absolutely clear that Isaac Casaubon could not possibly have written *The Originall*. However, in addition to vindicating his father, Meric also presents an implicit but lucid outline of the different perceptions of authority involved in the case of *The Originall*. The most important of these is the difference between Meric and Darcie's views of Isaac Casaubon's authority. To Darcie Casaubon's authority constituted fame, whereas Meric was primarily concerned with the learning on which this fame was built. Darcie not only treats Casaubon's authority as a commodity but repeats again and again that this authority is absolute – it is untouchable and eternal. Meric knows better and the whole of *The Vindication* can be read as a commentary on the vulnerability and permeability of authority. This not only applies to Casaubon's *auctoritas* but also the different types of authorities involved in the affair. Meric addresses them all and uses *The Vindication* to repair the authorities damaged by *The Originall*.

But Meric had not finished quite yet. After the first edition had been printed, Meric must have received information about the original of *The Originall* and its translator. This information is presented in a short appendix that deals two final blows to *The Originall*. The first of these is a piece of irrefutable evidence: the original French version of *The Originall*, which Meric scathingly calls 'an allobrogical dormouse of a pamphlet', turns out to have been published three years before Casaubon was born.⁷¹ The second blow is a personal assault on Darcie and the final stage of Meric's execution of Darcie's reputation and trustworthiness. Throughout *The Vindication*, Meric has avoided using Darcie's name but the appendix tackles it head-on in its title: 'An Admonition to Abraham d'Acier, the Genevian, falsely sur-naming himself Darcy'. Meric elaborates on his revelation with a distinct note of triumph: 'It is no marveile you counterfeit other mens names, seeing that you have already falsified your owne'.⁷² These were the final nails in *The Originall*'s coffin. On 21 May 1624 Oliver Naylor wrote to his friend John Cosin

⁷¹ M. Casaubon 1624, p. 74.

⁷² M. Casaubon 1624, p. 74.

that he need not doubt that 'the imposture is dead and buried with all men of understanding'.⁷³

The imposture may have been dead, but whether it was completely buried remains to be seen. Although Meric did an excellent job destroying Darcie's reputation, Darcie continued to protest his innocence and maintained that the attribution to Casaubon had simply been a mistake, without any intention to deceive or do mischief. Darcie went on to publish his translation of William Camden's *Annales* in 1625 and several aspects of this book reflect just how badly Darcie's reputation had been affected by the exposure of *The Originall*. His name, for instance, appears engraved in the frontispiece, but it is tiny and well-hidden in the image.

Darcie's presence in the book is also decidedly modest compared to his earlier publications and seems to focus primarily on the rehabilitation of his reputation. Darcie dedicated the book to James I and Prince Charles, but rather than a request for favours and preferment, the dedication defends Darcie against Meric's accusation that the *The Originall's* dedication was intended to aid the deception: 'And as therefore in my former Bookes, I have chosen Patrons Honourable and beneficiall, by whose authority, favour and countenance they might more happily be published'.⁷⁴

Darcie's main defence however appears in a portrait of himself, an engraving by Francis Delaram, a fashionable Flemish printmaker who worked in London at that time. The portrait is only found in a small number of the surviving copies of the book, possibly because Darcie would present it just to friends and possible patrons – Delaram was an expensive artist and the prints cannot have been cheap. However, by hiring Delaram, Darcie associated himself with the authority of Delaram's usual sitters (who included royalty, aristocrats and bishops), which he must have thought would help the portrait to achieve its goal: to defend himself against Meric and to restore his reputation. The portrait is executed in Delaram's precise and realistic style, but the framing lacks his characteristically lavish ornamentation. The resulting starkness is unusual to Delaram – and Darcie him-

⁷³ Cosin 1869, *The Correspondence of John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham*, Volume 1, p. 17.

⁷⁴ Camden 1625, p. 17.

self. It is possible that Darcie had been unable to pay Delaram to finish the work but it is equally possible that the starkness was intentional and meant to emphasize the accompanying poem's tone of humility and sincerity and reinforce its protestations of Darcie's innocence: 'For innocence, by wicked tongues opprest/ In Wisdome's eye is e're accounted blest'.

After the publication of the *Annales*, Darcie reinvented himself as 'Abraham de Ville D'arcie'. He published two works of genealogy, one of which he dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, and translated Johannes Sleidanus' *De Quattuor Monarchiis* (1556), under the title *The Key of Historie* (1627). Darcie also produced more elegies, including one for James I, but none of these works appear to have been able to repair his reputation. In fact, when he tried to publish a elegy for the Duke of Buckingham in 1628, the license for the work was revoked, despite Darcie's protestations to Lord Conway, the King's Secretary, that the work was 'offensive to none' and contained 'nothing against the State for it was the true history of the Duke his journey to Spaine, France, and the Isle of Ree'.⁷⁵ In his last book however, Darcie returned to his old ways. The dedication of *The Way to Immortality: or Happinesse in her Perfection* (1635) is more fawning than ever, and the text itself was stolen from William Tipping's *A Discourse of Eternitie* (1633).⁷⁶

Darcie's executioner however fared rather better. Meric Casaubon was to become a respected scholar in his own right and the author of some of the seventeenth century's richest reflections on the nature and dynamics of forgery and discussions of rather more sophisticated forgers, such as Annius of Viterbo and Curzio Inghirami.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Bellany 2010, p. 215.

⁷⁶ Darcie's theft of Tipping's text is pointed out in the descriptions of the two books in Early English Books Online, which dryly observe that, although Tipping noted in his foreword that his discourse belonged to everybody, 'it is doubtful if he imagined anyone would take him quite so literally'. The anonymous EEBO editor also notes that the name of Darcie's dedicatee, Lord Maynard, in this copy from the Folger Shakespeare Library, is 'overprinted or hand-stamped and darkened by pen' and adds that 'should a 2nd copy turn up, one would expect to find a different dedicatee'.

⁷⁷ See for instance M. Casaubon 1638, *A Treatise of Use and Custome*, and particularly its vitriolic postscript on the *Ethruscarum Antiquitatum Fragmenta* (1637).

The Originall suffered the fate of most exposed forgeries and was soon forgotten. A much-revised edition of Darcie's translation was published in Amsterdam in 1630, with an apology that 'upon misinformation' it had previously been attributed to Isaac Casaubon. However, without Casaubon's name and authority *The Originall of Idolatries* was indeed nothing more than a mangy Calvinist dormouse and it failed to generate much interest.

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Abstract

When an unknown work by the late philologist Isaac Casaubon, *The Originall of Idolatries*, appeared in London in 1624, it did not quite receive the welcome its publisher had hoped for. Meric Casaubon immediately disputed his father's authorship and published *The Vindication or Defence of Isaac Casaubon*, in which he argued – correctly – that the work was in fact a translation of an anonymous 16th-century French pamphlet that had been deliberately misattributed to Isaac Casaubon by its translator, Abraham Darcie. This first study of the affair of *The Originall* shows that Darcie's abuse of the name of one of the greatest early modern forgery hunters is particularly relevant in the context of authority. The various concepts, practices and traditions of authority associated with Isaac Casaubon and his patron King James VI and I as well as Darcie's own role as a translator were in many ways crucial to the set-up of Darcie's deceit and the effect *The Originall of Idolatries* might have had on unsuspecting readers. Meric Casaubon's exposure of *The Originall* not only provides an astute analysis of Darcie's methods and mistakes, but also addresses and reflects the perception of textual forgery in the early 17th century and its complex relationship with the concept of authority, in terms of deception as well as its detection.



FIG. 1
Portrait of Abraham Darcie (1625), engraving by Francis Delaram,
British Museum, London, © Trustees of the British Museum

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